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Patent-Office Models of the Good Society:  
Some Relationships between Social Reform  
and Westward Expansion

ARTHUR E. BESTOR, JR.

IN the mechanical realm, nineteenth-century American inventiveness left as its most characteristic record not a written description or a drawing but a working model, such as the Patent Office then required. In somewhat similar fashion, the societal inventiveness of the first half of the nineteenth century embodied itself in a hundred or so co-operative colonies, where various types of improved social machinery were hopefully demonstrated. Patent-office models of the good society we may call them.<sup>1</sup>

To build a working model is not the same thing as to draw a picture. Hence it is necessary, at the outset, to distinguish between communitarianism, or the impulse which constructed these hundred model communities, and utopianism, or the impulse to picture in literary form the characteristics of an ideal but imaginary society. The distinction is more than verbal. A piece

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Cincinnati, April 19, 1951.

of utopian writing pictures a social order superior to the present, and it does so, of course, in the hope of inspiring men to alter their institutions accordingly. But a utopian work (unless it happens also to be a communitarian one) does *not* suggest that the proper way of going about such a reform is to construct a small-scale model of the desired society. Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, for example, was a utopian novel, but definitely *not* a piece of communitarian propaganda, because the social transformation that Bellamy was talking about could not possibly be inaugurated by a small-scale experiment; it could come about only through a great collective effort by all the citizens of the state.

The communitarian, on the other hand, was by definition the apostle of small-scale social experiment. He believed that the indispensable first step in reform was the construction of what the twentieth century would call a pilot plant. The communitarian was not necessarily a utopian; few of the religious communities, for example, attempted to visualize an ideal future society this side of heaven. When the communitarian did indulge in utopian visions, the characteristic fact about them was that they always pictured the future as something to be realized through a small-scale experiment indefinitely reduplicated. The communitarian conceived of his experimental community not as a mere blueprint of the future but as an actual, complete, functioning unit of the new social order. As the American communitarian Albert Brisbane wrote:

The whole question of effecting a Social Reform may be reduced to the establishment of one Association, which will serve as a model for, and induce the rapid establishment of others. . . . Now if we can, with a knowledge of true architectural principles, build one house rightly, conveniently and elegantly, we can, by taking it for a model and building others like it, make a perfect and beautiful city: in the same manner, if we can, with a knowledge of true social principles, organize one township rightly, we can, by organizing others like it, and by spreading and rendering them universal, establish a true Social and Political Order.<sup>2</sup>

This is a fair summary of the communitarian program.

Historically speaking, the idea of undertaking social reform in this particular way—by constructing a patent-office model or a pilot plant—is not a common idea but a distinctly uncommon one. No other period comes close to matching the record of the first half of the nineteenth century, which saw a hundred communitarian experiments attempted in the United States alone. The vogue of communitarianism can be delimited even more sharply than this. During a period of precisely fifty years, beginning in 1805, when the first

<sup>2</sup> Albert Brisbane, *A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association* (2d ed., New York, 1843), pp. 73-74.

communitarian colony was planted in the Old Northwest, at least ninety-nine different experiments were actually commenced in the United States.<sup>3</sup> Nearly half of these—forty-five to be exact—were located in the Old Northwest, strictly defined.<sup>4</sup> Another twenty-eight were in areas which belonged to the same general cultural region—that is, western New York, the parts of the Ohio River valley outside the Old Northwest, and certain adjoining areas on the other side of the upper Mississippi.<sup>5</sup> A total of seventy-three communities—roughly three quarters of the total—thus belonged to what can be described, without undue geographical laxness, as the Middle West.

Such a clear-cut localization of communitarian ideas in time and place can hardly be fortuitous. It is the kind of fact that cries aloud for explanation in terms of historical relationships. What, then, were the unique elements in the historical situation of the Old Northwest that help to explain why communitarianism should have reached its peak there during the first half of the nineteenth century?

Twenty years ago an answer would have been forthcoming at once, and would probably have gone unchallenged: *the frontier*. If, however, the frontier is given anything like a satisfactorily limited definition—if, in other words, the term is taken to signify primarily that “outer margin of the ‘settled area’” which figured in Frederick Jackson Turner’s original essay—then a close relationship between the frontier and communitarianism is hard to find.

In the first place, communitarian ideas cannot be said to have arisen spontaneously among any groups living in actual frontier zones. The leading communitarian philosophies, in point of fact, were elaborated in Europe—not only those of Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, and Etienne Cabet but also those of most of the religious sects. The Moravians in the eighteenth century found their “general economy” well adapted to new settlements, but its principles were ones the sect had worked out and partially practiced before they came to America. The Shakers faced frontier conditions when they first arrived in America, but they worked out their communistic polity later. It was, in fact, their way of settling down after the frontier stage had passed.

<sup>3</sup> The statistical evidence incorporated in this and subsequent paragraphs is tabulated in a “Checklist of Communitarian Experiments Initiated in the United States before 1860,” appended to Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., *Backwoods Utopias* (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 231–43. Communities numbered 8–11, 24–30, 34–79, 82–109, 113–20, and 123–28 in the “Checklist” are the ones founded between 1805 and 1854, inclusive. Accounts of the individual communities established before 1829 will be found in the text of the work cited; later ones will be treated in a sequel (nearing completion), tentatively entitled *Phalanxes of Social Reform: The Fourierist Phase of Communitarian Socialism in America*.

<sup>4</sup> That is, twenty-one in Ohio, eleven in Indiana, eight in Wisconsin, four in Illinois, and one in Michigan.

<sup>5</sup> That is, eleven in western New York, seven in western Pennsylvania, one in what is now West Virginia, two in Kentucky, two in Missouri, and five in Iowa.



The nonreligious communitarianism of the nineteenth century drew its ideas from sources even more obviously unconnected with the frontier. Robert Owen's plan was a response to conditions which the factory system had created in Britain, and it made no significant impression in America until Owen himself brought it to this country. Americans did take the initiative in importing certain communitarian theories, but here again frontier motivation was absent. Albert Brisbane, though the son of a pioneer settler of western New York, became aware of social problems gradually, first in New York City, then in the ancient but impoverished realms of eastern Europe. He finally brought back from the Continent the most sophisticated social theory of the period, Fourierism, and made it the leading American communitarian system of the 1840's, by dint of propaganda directed largely from New York and Boston.<sup>6</sup>

If the ideas of the communitarians did not arise on the frontier, neither did the impulse to put them in practice. The handful of communities that were actually located in or near true frontier zones were all planted there by groups from farther east or from Europe.<sup>7</sup> They were not established there with the hope or expectation of gaining recruits from among the frontiersmen; on the contrary, communitarian leaders were often warned against accepting local settlers.<sup>8</sup> Finally, communitarians were misled if they expected greater toleration of their social nonconformity in the West than in the East. The mobs who attacked the Shakers in Ohio, at any rate, were indistinguishable from those who attacked them in Massachusetts.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., "Albert Brisbane—Propagandist for Socialism in the 1840's," *New York History*, XXVIII (April, 1947), 128–58.

<sup>7</sup> The following communities of the period were closest to the actual western frontier: (i) communities of immigrants from Europe: Equality (no. 84 in Bestor, "Checklist"), Icaria, Tex. (no. 126); (ii) communities founded close to the frontier by European theorists: New Harmony (no. 35), Nashoba (no. 49); (iii) communities that migrated from the East: Harmonic, Ind. (no. 9), Iowa Pioneer Phalanx (no. 72); (iv) frontier branches of eastern communities: West Union or Busro (no. 28), Union Grove (no. 111); (v) communities established on the frontier by groups from cities or settled areas of the West: Wisconsin Phalanx (no. 71).

<sup>8</sup> Just before the establishment of the New Harmony Community, for example, Robert Owen received the following advice from his son, who had been visiting the neighboring frontier settlements in Indiana and Illinois: "Although I do not perceive opposition to your plans in any quarter & although there is often an appearance of interest excited for a time, yet the character of the people is so little enthusiastic & all parties have been so long accustomed to be dilatory in business & to be thinking only of overreaching others & acting an insincere part, that an entire change must be effected in order to make them valuable members. . . . I have seen only one or two persons, who *as they are*, I should consider desirable associates. I certainly look forward with more favorable expectations to those, who come from Europe." William Owen, Vincennes, Ind., to Robert Owen, Washington, D.C., Feb. 7, 1825, MS in Robert Owen Papers, no. 58, in Co-operative Union, Manchester, England.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Clara Endicott Sears, *Gleanings from Old Shaker Journals* (Boston, 1916), chaps. xi, xiv, xvii; and J. P. MacLean, "Mobbing the Shakers of Union Village," in his *Shakers of Ohio* (Columbus, 1907), pp. 362–87.

Nothing created by the frontier contributed positively to the growth of communitarianism. Only as a passive force—as an area of relatively cheap land or relatively few restrictions—could the frontier be said to have had anything to do with the communitarian movement. These passive advantages of the frontier were, as a matter of fact, almost wholly delusive. The Shakers afforded an excellent test case, for their villages were to be found in regions of various types. The most successful were in long-settled areas, reasonably close to cities. The one Shaker settlement on the actual frontier—at Busro on the Wabash River above Vincennes—had a dismal history of discontent, hostility, and failure, from the time of its founding in 1810, through its evacuation at the time of the War of 1812, until its abandonment in 1827.<sup>10</sup> The withdrawal of the Rappites from their westernmost outpost—in the very same region and at the very same time—may be taken as evidence that they too felt the frontier to be basically unfavorable to communitarianism. Thomas Hunt, a British Owenite who led a colony to Wisconsin in the 1840's, had to admit that whatever physical advantages the frontier might offer could “be secured, not only by bodies of men, but by private individuals.” This fact was quickly discovered by members of co-operative communities which moved to the frontier. “On their arrival here,” Hunt observed, “they . . . find many opportunities of employing their labour *out of the society they are connected with.*” Though Hunt saw advantages for communitarianism in the cheaper lands of the frontier, he saw none in the state of mind which the frontier engendered. Among the factors prejudicial to success, he listed, with emphasizing italics, “the *influence which the circumstances of this country may exert over their minds, in drawing them again into the vortex of competition.*”<sup>11</sup>

Hunt was probably wrong in regarding even the cheap lands of the frontier as a real economic boon to communitarianism. They proved to be the exact opposite, according to the shrewdest of all the nineteenth-century historians of the movement. This was John Humphrey Noyes, himself founder of the successful Oneida Community (located, incidentally, far from the frontier), who reached the following conclusions after carefully analyzing the history—particularly the record of landholdings—of communitarian ventures contemporaneous with his own:

Judging by our own experience we incline to think that this fondness for land, which has been the habit of Socialists, had much to do with their failures.

<sup>10</sup> See the vivid contemporary record in MacLean, pp. 281–346.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Hunt, “The Past and Present of the Colony of ‘Equality,’” *The New Moral World*, XIII (Aug. 2, 1845), 472, a communication dated Equality, Spring Lake, Mukwonago [Wisconsin Territory], June 2, 1845.

Farming is . . . the kind of labor in which there is . . . the largest chance for disputes and discords in such complex bodies as Associations. Moreover the lust for land leads off into the wilderness, "out west," or into by-places, far away from railroads and markets; whereas Socialism, if it is really ahead of civilization, ought to keep near the centers of business, and at the front of the general march of improvement. . . . Almost any kind of a factory would be better than a farm for a Community nursery. . . . Considering how much they must have run in debt for land, and how little profit they got from it, we may say of them almost literally, that they were "wrecked by running aground."<sup>12</sup>

The frontier, then, did not generate communitarianism. It did not inspire its inhabitants to join communitarian ventures. It did not show itself particularly hospitable to communitarian ideas. It did not even offer conditions that could contribute substantially to communitarian success. Communitarianism, in other words, cannot be explained as an outgrowth of the conditions of frontier life.

In point of fact, communitarianism developed in a fairly normal environment of settled agricultural and commercial life. The foreign-language sectarian communities, it is true, were not indigenous to the localities in which they were established. The Rappites, for example, were conducted as a body from Germany to Harmonie, Pennsylvania, then to Harmonie, Indiana, and finally back to Economy, Pennsylvania. None of the original members had any previous connection with these places, and the number of members recruited in the neighborhood was negligible. The same could be said of communities like Zoar, Ebenezer, and Amana. In the history of the communitarian movement as a whole, however, this pattern was the exception rather than the rule. The Shakers illustrated a more typical development. Each village of theirs was "gathered" (the phrase was a favorite one with them) from among the converts in a given locality, and was established upon a farm owned by one of the group or purchased with their combined resources. When communitarianism assumed a secular character, beginning in the 1820's, this local pattern became even more characteristic of the movement.

Of the thirty-six Owenite and Fourierist communities established in the United States during the half century under consideration,<sup>13</sup> only one—Hunt's colony in Wisconsin—represented an immigrant group comparable to

<sup>12</sup> John Humphrey Noyes, *History of American Socialisms* (Philadelphia, 1870), pp. 19–20.

<sup>13</sup> The thirty-six are those named in Bestor, "Checklist," nos. 35–41, 54–79, and 82–84. The Owenite and Fourierist experiments, rather than the entire group of communities, have been selected for analysis because their characteristics can be more accurately determined. They constituted the most important and representative group of secular experiments during the half century.



the Rappites or Zorites. Only ten others involved any substantial migration of members, and in many of these the recruits from the immediate vicinity clearly outnumbered those drawn from a distance.<sup>14</sup> At least two thirds of the Owenite and Fourierist communities were experiments indigenous to the neighborhood in which they were located. Sometimes groups in a small village or on adjoining farms threw their lands together or traded them for a larger tract nearby.<sup>15</sup> Sometimes groups in a larger town moved to a domain which they acquired a few miles out in the country.<sup>16</sup> It is difficult to distinguish between the two processes, and unnecessary. In neither case did the moving about of men and women constitute anything like a true migration to a new environment. Clearly enough, communitarianism as a secular doctrine of social reform made its impact in already settled areas and it inspired its adherents to act in their own neighborhoods far more frequently than it led them to seek the frontier.

Yet the fact remains that the great outburst of communitarian activity occurred during the period when the frontier of agricultural settlement was pushing ahead most rapidly, and it tended to concentrate in the area lying in the wake of that forward thrust. Some connection obviously existed between the idea and the situation. The true nature of that relationship must be explored.

In his original statement of the so-called frontier thesis, Frederick Jackson Turner enumerated certain ideas and habits of mind that he deemed characteristically American. "These," he exclaimed, "are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier."<sup>17</sup> The latter half of the sentence has a rather off-hand air about it, suggesting that Turner did not fully recognize how radically different were the two types

<sup>14</sup> Three communities only were clear-cut examples of migration to the western frontier: Wisconsin Phalanx (no. 71), Iowa Pioneer Phalanx (no. 72), and Hunt's colony (no. 84). Two communities migrated from the East to unite with an already existing western (but hardly frontier) experiment: Forestville Community (no. 38) and Integral Phalanx (no. 76). Though most of its population probably came from the surrounding neighborhood, New Harmony (no. 35) did include substantial groups of members who migrated from eastern centers. Five communities migrated from cities to unsettled mountainous areas in the East: Social Reform Unity (no. 55), Sylvania Phalanx (no. 57), Morehouse Union (no. 58), Society of One-Mentians (no. 82), and Goose Pond Community (no. 83).

<sup>15</sup> For example, the Owenite communities of Kendal (no. 39) and Blue Spring (no. 41), and the Fourierist phalanxes of LaGrange (no. 60), Alphadelphia (no. 65), and Trumbull (no. 70).

<sup>16</sup> For example, the Owenite communities of Yellow Springs (no. 36), Franklin (no. 37), and Valley Forge (no. 40); Brook Farm (no. 54); the Clermont Phalanx (no. 69); and the various Fourierist communities that radiated from Rochester, N. Y.: Clarkson (no. 61), Bloomfield (no. 62), Sodus Bay (no. 66), Mixville (no. 67), and Ontario (no. 68).

<sup>17</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1893), as reprinted in his *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), p. 37. Turner's most explicit discussion of communitarianism and its relation to the frontier is in his "Contributions of the West to American Democracy" (1903), *ibid.*, pp. 261-63.

of causation he was bracketing together.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, if the implications of the second part of the statement had been followed out fully and carefully by Turner and his disciples, the frontier thesis itself might have been saved from much of the one-sidedness that present-day critics discover in it.<sup>19</sup> Be that as it may, the second part of the quoted sentence does describe the kind of relationship that existed between westward expansion and the vogue of such an idea as communitarianism. The latter was one of the "traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier."

This paper purposes to explore the process through which communitarianism—and, by extension, a variety of other social ideas—were "called out" by the mere existence of the frontier. The statement we are using is, in part, a figurative one. For the sake of precision it ought to be restated at the outset in completely literal terms. Three points require brief preliminary discussion. In the first place, ideas are not produced by the mere existence of something. They result from reflection upon that something, reflection induced either by direct observation or by knowledge derived at second hand.

<sup>18</sup> Turner's actual illustrations were such traits as the "practical, inventive turn of mind," the "masterful grasp of material things," and the "restless, nervous energy," which he believed were engendered by conditions of life on the actual frontier. If these traits were, as he believed, transmitted directly to other areas and to later generations, and if they constituted the dominant features of American thought as a whole, then no one could deny his thesis "that to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics." But then there would be no need for the saving clause, "traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier." This afterthought constitutes, in effect, a confession of weakness so far as the central thesis is concerned, for it introduces a totally different causal explanation. The traits that induced men to go to the frontier become, in this way of thinking, valid examples of frontier influence. To argue that the frontier was a creative force in such circumstances is a little like saying that the cheese created the mouse because it lured him into the trap.

<sup>19</sup> By failing to take seriously the ideas "called out elsewhere"—that is, by failing to reckon with these ideas as potent historical facts in their own right—the frontier school was trapped into its most notorious blunder: the acceptance of the "safety-valve" doctrine as an objective fact of economic history. The exposure of this error by recent scholarship has dealt a more serious blow to the frontier thesis than is sometimes realized. Turner shared very largely the nineteenth-century positivistic aim of explaining ideas as the products of external physical and material conditions of life. The frontier thesis must be understood partly in this light. By implication it denied (or at least played down) the importance not merely of ideas imported from Europe but of ideas generally, as creative, causative factors in history. The safety-valve doctrine served as a crucial test-case of the adequacy of this positivistic approach. If the frontier actually operated as a safety valve drawing off discontent from settled areas, then here was a clear-cut example of materialistic events or forces generating ideas directly and at a distance. But it turns out that the safety-valve doctrine was a preconception about the frontier, not a generalization from actual occurrences there. It was so powerful a preconception, moreover, that it actually generated action (in the form of homestead legislation, etc.) which directly affected the current of events in the West itself. By destroying the historicity of the safety-valve doctrine, scholarship did more than correct a mere detail of the frontier interpretation; it stood the whole theory on its head. Today the intellectual historian who would deal with "frontier" ideas is forced to take as a starting-point, not the conditions of life at the edge of settlement and the traits supposedly born out of that life, but rather the body of pre-existing ideas concerning the West and the significance thereof for mankind. One may even argue that the frontier thesis itself was less an induction from historical data than a restatement, with historical illustrations, of a time-honored set of intellectual assumptions concerning American westward expansion.

We are, by definition, interested in the reflections of men and women who did not participate in, and did not directly observe, the frontier process. In the second place, ideas rarely, if ever, spring into existence fresh and new. Reflection upon a new occurrence does not produce a set of new ideas. It exercises a selective influence upon old ones. It represses some of these. It encourages others. It promotes new combinations. And it may infuse the whole with deeper emotional feeling. The resulting complex of ideas and attitudes may be new, but the newness lies in the pattern, not in the separate elements. Finally, though we have adopted Turner's phrase, and with it his use of the word "frontier," we will find that it was really the westward movement as a whole, and not the events at its frontier fringe, that the men and women "elsewhere" were meditating upon.<sup>20</sup>

With these three considerations in mind, we are ready to restate the subject of our inquiry in distinct, if prosaic, terms. The rephrasing will be clearer if cast in the form of a series of questions, although these will not have to be taken up in order or answered separately in the discussion that follows. How, then, did the expansion of population into unsettled areas, and the planting of civilized institutions there, strike the imaginations of those who took no direct part in the process? What ideas of theirs about the nature of social institutions were confirmed and amplified by their reflections upon this continuing event? Which of their hopes were encouraged, which desires rendered more certain of fulfillment, by what they conceived to be taking place? And how did this new pattern of ideas and aspirations correspond to the pattern embodied in a doctrine of social reform like communitarianism?

Now, communitarianism involved, as we have seen, certain very definite convictions about the way social institutions are actually created. It assumed the possibility of shaping the whole society of the future by deliberately laying the appropriate foundations in the present. And it called upon men to take advantage of this possibility by starting at once to construct the first units of a new and better world.

<sup>20</sup> Turner's central theme, likewise, was really not the frontier, but something larger: the westward movement, the West which it created, and the influence of both on American life. With something of the instinct of a poet, Turner seized upon one special aspect, the frontier, to serve as a symbol of the whole. But in the end, it seems to me, he was led astray by his own symbolism. The frontier was a picturesque part, but only a part, of the larger theme he was exploring. Instead of dropping the symbol, however, when it became obviously inapplicable to the other matters under discussion, he stuck to the word "frontier" until gradually its value as a denotative term was destroyed. Worst of all, vices of language are apt to become vices of thought. Having grown accustomed to speak of the influence or the significance of the frontier, rather than of the westward movement, Turner and his disciples tended to look for crucial factors solely among the events and ideas that occurred along the very margins of settlement, and then to assume that the intellectual life of the entire West (and, through it, the entire nation) derived from this pioneer thinking.

In this set of beliefs can we not immediately detect certain of the ideas that took shape in the minds of men as they contemplated—from near or far—the upbuilding of a new society in the American West?

First among these ideas, certainly, was the sense of rapid growth and vast potentiality. No theme was so trite in American oratory and American writing; quotations of a general sort are not needed to prove the point. But one particular aspect of this belief in the future greatness of the United States requires special notice. The point in question was enshrined in a couplet which was composed in New England in 1791 and which quickly became one of the most hackneyed in the whole of American verse:

Large streams from little fountains flow;  
Tall oaks from little acorns grow.<sup>21</sup>

American civilization, to spell out the interpretation which hearers instinctively gave to these lines, was destined for greatness, but this greatness was growing, and would grow, out of beginnings that were small indeed.

The converse of this idea formed a second important element in the reflections which the westward movement induced. The habit of tracing greatness back to its tiny source, led easily to the conception that every beginning, however casual and small, held within it the germ of something vastly greater. In a stable society, small happenings might have no consequences. But to men who pondered the expansion going on in the West, there came a sense that no event was so insignificant that it might not affect the future character of an entire region—perhaps for evil (if men lacked vigilance), but more probably for good.

A third idea, closely linked to these others, provided the most distinctive element in the entire pattern. Human choice could play its part in determining the character of the small beginnings from which great institutions would in future infallibly grow. But—and this is the uniquely important point—an organized effort to shape them would be effective only during the limited period of time that institutions remained in embryo. This concept is not, of course, the obvious and quite unremarkable idea that what one does today will affect what happens tomorrow. On the contrary, it assumed that there was something extraordinary about the moment then present, that the opportunity of influencing the future which it proffered was a unique opportunity, never to be repeated so fully again.

The corollary to all this—the fourth element in the complex of ideas—was

<sup>21</sup> David Everett (1770–1813), lines beginning “You’d scarce expect one of my age,” written in 1791 and first published in 1797. See Francis E. Blake, *David Everett* (n. p., n. d.), p. 7.

a moral imperative. Men and women were duty-bound to seize, while it still existed, the chance of building their highest ideals into the very structure of the future world. When men spoke of "the mission of America," it was this particular idea, more than any other, that imparted to their words a sense of urgency. This moral imperative applied to the transplanting of old institutions as well as the establishment of new. The link between reformer and conservative was their common belief that institutions required positively to be planted in the new areas. Naturally the *best* institutions were the ones that should be so planted. For most men and women this meant the most familiar institutions, or at least the most respected among the familiar ones. Consequently the greater part of the effort which this concept inspired went into reproducing old institutions in the new West. A few men and women, however, always sought these best institutions not among those that already existed but among those that might exist. Hence the concept gave scope for reform as well as conservation.

Even when it assumed a reformist character, however, this concept must not be equated with reform in general. That it is to say, it was not identical with the sense of duty that urges men to remedy social injustices and to remake faulty institutions wherever they find them. The present concept was much narrower. Without necessarily overlooking abuses hoary with age, those who thought in this particular way concentrated their attention upon institutions at the rudimentary stage, believing that the proper shaping of these offered the greatest promise of ultimate social reformation.

The group of four concepts we have been considering formed an altruistic counterpart to the idea of the West as a land of opportunity for the individual. The dreams of wealth, of higher social station, and of greater freedom were doubtless the most influential ideas which the West generated in the minds of those who reflected upon its growth. The action which such dreams inspired was participation in the westward movement. But all men who thought about the West did not move to it. There were also dreams which men who remained in the East might share, and there were actions appropriate to such dreams. Throughout the world, as men reflected upon the westward movement, they grew more confident that success would crown every well-intended effort to create a freer and better society for themselves and their fellows. And many of them felt that the proper way to create it was to copy the process of expansion itself, by planting the tiny seeds of new institutions in the wilderness.

What men thought about the West might or might not conform to reality. But in the fourfold concept we have analyzed, there was much that did corre-

spond with developments actually taking place in America. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the vast area beyond the Appalachians was in process of active settlement, yet its future social pattern was still far from irrevocably determined. Different ways of living existed within its borders: aboriginal, French, English, Spanish, Southern, Yankee, the ways of the fur trader and the ways of the settled farmer. The pressures from outside that were reinforcing one or another of these patterns of life were vastly unequal in strength, and this fact portended ultimate victory to some tendencies and defeat to others. But the victory of no one of the contending social systems had yet been decisively won. And the modifications which any system would inevitably undergo as it spread across the region and encountered new conditions were beyond anyone's predicting. Half a century later this indeterminateness was no longer characteristic of the West. Many of the fundamental features of its society had been determined with such definiteness as to diminish drastically the range of future possibilities. Just as the surveyors had already laid down the township and section lines which fixed certain patterns irrevocably upon the land, so the men and women of the region, in subtler but no less certain fashion, had by the middle of the nineteenth century traced and fixed for the future many of the principal lines in the fundamental ground-plan of their emergent society.

The consciousness that they were doing this was stronger in the minds of Americans during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century than ever before or since. The idea had found expression earlier, of course, but never had it been validated by so vast a process of institutional construction as was taking place in the Mississippi Valley. The idea might linger on after the middle of the nineteenth century, but every year it corresponded less with the realities of the American scene, where social institutions were being elaborated or painfully reconstructed rather than created fresh and new. The first half of the nineteenth century was the period when it was most natural for Americans to assert and to act upon the belief that the new society of the West could and should be shaped in embryo by the deliberate, self-conscious efforts of individuals and groups.

This conviction received clearest expression in the pulpit and in the publications devoted to missions. An eastern clergyman, addressing the American Home Missionary Society in 1829, called upon the imagination of his hearers, asking that they place themselves "on the top of the Alleghany, survey the immense valley beyond it, and consider that the character of its eighty or one hundred million inhabitants, a century hence, will depend on the direction and impulse given it now, in its forming state."



"The ruler of this country," he warned, "is growing up in the great valley: leave him without the gospel, and he will be a ruffian giant, who will regard neither the decencies of civilization, nor the charities of religion."<sup>22</sup>

The tone of urgency increased rather than diminished as the great valley filled up and men sensed the approaching end of the time during which its institutions might be expected to remain pliant. "The next census," wrote the editor of *The Home Missionary* in 1843, "may show, that the majority of votes in our national legislature will belong to the West." The myriads there, in other words, "are soon to give laws to us all." The conclusion was obvious: "*Now is the time when the West can be saved; soon it will be too late!*"

Friends of our Country—followers of the Saviour—[the editor continued] . . . surely the TIME HAS COME . . . when the evangelical churches must occupy the West, or the enemy will. . . . The way is open—society in the West is in a plastic state, worldly enterprise is held in check, the people are ready to receive the Gospel. . . .

When the present generation of American Christians have it in their power, instrumentally, to determine not only their own destiny and that of their children, but also to direct the future course of their country's history, and her influence on all mankind, they *must* not be—we hope they *will not be*—false to their trust!<sup>23</sup>

If one is tempted to regard this as the attitude only of easterners seeking to influence western society from outside, listen for a moment to a sermon preached before the legislature of Wisconsin Territory in 1843:

It will not answer for you to fold your hands in indolence and say "Let the East take care of the West. . . ." The West must take care of itself—the West *must* and *will* form its own character—it must and will originate or perpetuate its own institutions, whatever be their nature. . . . Much as our brethren in the East have done, or can do for us, the principal part of the task of enlightening and evangelizing this land is *ours*; if good institutions and virtuous principles prevail, it must be mainly through our own instrumentality. . . . In the Providence of God, you have been sent to spy out and to take possession of this goodly land. To *you* God has committed the solemn responsibility of impressing upon it your own image: the likeness of your own moral character—a likeness which . . . it will, in all probability, bear through all succeeding time. Am I not right then in saying that you . . . occupy a position, both in time and place, of an exceedingly important nature?<sup>24</sup>

The same evangelical fervor began to infuse the writings of educational reformers in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and the same arguments appeared. When Horace Mann bade his "official Farewell" to

<sup>22</sup> J. Van Vecten, "Address," *The Home Missionary*, II (June 1, 1829), 21.

<sup>23</sup> "Important Position of Home Missionary Affairs," *ibid.*, XVI (September, 1843), 97-99, italics and capitals as in the original.

<sup>24</sup> J. M. Clark, "The West Summoned to the Work," *ibid.*, XVI (August, 1843), 75-76.

the school system of Massachusetts, he too spoke in terms of "a futurity rapidly hastening upon us." For the moment this was "a futurity, now fluid,—ready, as clay in the hands of the potter, to be moulded into every form of beauty and excellence." But, he reminded his fellow citizens, "so soon as it receives the impress of our plastic touch, whether this touch be for good or for evil, it is to be struck into . . . adamant." "Into whose form and likeness," he asked, "shall we fashion this flowing futurity?" The West was explicitly in his mind. In settlements already planted, the lack of educational provision posed problems of peculiar exigency, for "a different mental and moral culture must come speedily, or it will come too late." Nor was this all.

Beyond our western frontier [he continued], another and a wider realm spreads out, as yet unorganized into governments, and uninhabited by civilized man. . . . Yet soon will every rood of its surface be explored. . . . Shall this new empire . . . be reclaimed to humanity, to a Christian life, and a Christian history; or shall it be a receptacle where the avarice . . . of a corrupt civilization shall . . . breed its monsters? If it is ever to be saved from such a perdition, the Mother States of this Union,—those States where the institutions of learning and religion are now honored and cherished, must send out their hallowing influences to redeem it. And if . . . the tree of Paradise is ever to be planted and to flourish in this new realm; . . . will not the heart of every true son of Massachusetts palpitate with desire . . . that her name may be engraved upon its youthful trunk, there to deepen and expand with its immortal growth?<sup>25</sup>

Religious and educational ideals were not the only ones which Americans cherished and whose future they were unwilling to leave to chance. In establishing their political institutions, they were weighed down with thoughts of posterity, and of a posterity that would occupy lands as yet almost unexplored. At the Constitutional Convention James Wilson of Pennsylvania spoke to the following effect: "When he considered the amazing extent of country—the immense population which is to fill it, the influence which the Govt. we are to form will have, not only on the present generation of our people & their multiplied posterity, but on the whole Globe, he was lost in the magnitude of the object."<sup>25a</sup>

Such ideas as these found embodiment in the great series of documents which provided for the extension of government into the American West.

<sup>25</sup> Horace Mann, "Twelfth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education," dated Nov. 24, 1848, in Massachusetts, Board of Education, *Twelfth Annual Report* (Boston, 1849), pp. 141-44.

<sup>25a</sup> Max Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven, 1911), I, 405 (Mon., June 25, 1787, notes of James Madison). Robert Yates recorded in his notes of Wilson's speech the following additional sentence: "When we are laying the foundation of a building, which is to last for ages, and in which millions are interested, it ought to be well laid." *Ibid.*, p. 413.

Usually the purpose was so self-evident as to require no explicit statement. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, for example, was without a preamble. It proceeded directly to the task of providing frames of government for the Northwest Territory, through all the stages up to statehood, and it concluded by setting forth certain "articles of compact" which were to "forever remain unalterable" and whose manifest purpose was to determine irrevocably for the future certain institutional patterns of the region. The framers of this and similar constitutional documents were proclaiming, by actions rather than words, their adherence to the set of beliefs under discussion here, namely, that the shape of western society was being determined in their own day, and that they possessed both the opportunity and the responsibility of helping to direct the process. "I am truly Sensible of the Importance of the Trust," said General Arthur St. Clair in 1788 when he accepted the first governorship of the Northwest Territory. He was aware, he continued, of "how much depends upon the due Execution of it—to you Gentlemen, over whom it is to be immediately exercised—to your Posterity! perhaps to the whole Community of America!"<sup>26</sup>

Economic and social patterns, Americans believed, could also be determined for all future time during a few crucial years at the outset. Nothing was of greater concern to most inhabitants of the United States than the pattern of landownership which was likely to arise as a consequence of the disposal of the public domain. In this as in other matters, the present interests of the persons involved were naturally more compelling than the prospective interests of unborn generations. Nevertheless, concern for the latter was never pushed very far into the background. "Vote yourself a farm" was doubtless the most influential slogan of the land reformers. But not far behind in persuasiveness were arguments that dwelt upon the kind of future society which a particular present policy would inevitably produce. The argument was often put in negative form; propagandists warned of the evils that would inescapably follow from a wrong choice made during the crucial formative period.

The evil of permitting speculators to monopolize the public lands [said a report of the land reformers in 1844], is already severely felt in the new states. . . . But what is this evil compared with the distress and misery that is in store for our children should we permit the evil of land monopoly to take firm root in this Republic? . . .

Time rolls on—and in the lapse of a few ages all those boundless fields which now invite us to their bosom, become the settled property of individuals. Our descendants wish to raise themselves from the condition of hirelings, but they

<sup>26</sup> Address at Marietta, July 9, 1788, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, III (Washington, 1934), 264.

wish it in vain . . . and each succeeding age their condition becomes more and more hopeless. They read the history of their country; they learn that there was a time when their fathers could have preserved those domains, and transmitted them, free and unincumbered, to their children.

If once lost, the opportunity could never be regained. But if seized upon "by one bold step," the report continued, "our descendants will be in possession of an independence that cannot fail so long as God hangs his bow in the clouds."<sup>27</sup>

Certain aspects even of the slavery controversy grow clearer when examined in the light of this characteristic American belief. One central paradox, at least, becomes much more understandable. "The whole controversy over the Territories," so a contemporary put it, "related to an imaginary negro in an impossible place."<sup>28</sup> This was in large measure true. Even the admission of new slave states or of new free ones—and such admissions were occurring regularly—aroused no such controversy as raged about the exclusion of slavery from, or its extension to, unsettled areas where no one could predict the possible economic utility of the institution or its ability to survive. The violence of this controversy becomes explicable only if one grasps how important in the climate of opinion of the day was the belief that the society of the future was being uniquely determined by the small-scale institutional beginnings of the present.

From the Missouri crisis of 1819–21 onwards, practically every major battle in the long-continued contest was fought over the question of whether slavery should go into, or be excluded from, territories whose social institutions had not yet crystallized. So long as both sides could rest assured that the existence or nonexistence of slavery was settled for every inch of territory in the United States, then the slavery controversy in politics merely smoldered. Such a salutary situation resulted from the Missouri Compromise, which drew a geographical dividing line across the territories. But when the Mexican War opened the prospect of new territorial acquisitions, the controversy burst into flame again with the Wilmot Proviso, which aimed to nip in the bud the possibility that slavery might ever become an institution in the new areas. The Compromise of 1850 composed the dispute with less definitiveness than had been achieved thirty years before, for the question of slavery in New Mexico and Utah was left open until those territories should be ripe for statehood. Though the Compromise was,

<sup>27</sup> *Working Man's Advocate* (New York), July 6, 1844, as printed in *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, ed. John R. Commons and others, VII (Cleveland, 1910), 299, 302.

<sup>28</sup> James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (2 vols., Norwich, Conn., 1884), I, 272, quoting an unnamed "representative from the South."

for this reason, intrinsically less stable than the earlier one, the uncertainties that it left were in areas which settlement was hardly likely to reach in the near future. Comparative calm thus ensued until the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. By opening to slavery the territories north of the old Missouri Compromise line, this measure threw back into uncertainty the character of the future social order of an area now on the verge of rapid settlement. Bleeding Kansas resulted from the effort to settle by force what could no longer be settled by law, namely, the kind of social institutions that should be allowed to take root in the new territory and thus determine its future for untold ages to come.

Abraham Lincoln in his speech at Peoria on October 16, 1854, made perfectly clear his reasons for opposing the doctrine of popular sovereignty embodied in the new act:

Another important objection to this application of the right of self-government, is that it enables the first FEW, to deprive the succeeding MANY, of a free exercise of the right of self-government. The first few may get slavery IN, and the subsequent many cannot easily get it OUT. How common is the remark now in the slave States—"If we were only clear of our slaves, how much better it would be for us." They are actually deprived of the privilege of governing themselves as they would, by the action of a very few, in the beginning.<sup>29</sup>

Four years later Lincoln restated the argument in a letter to an old-time Whig associate in Illinois. His point of departure was a statement of Henry Clay's. "If a state of nature existed, and we were about to lay the foundations of society, no man would be more strongly opposed than I should to incorporate the institution of slavery among it's elements," Clay was quoted as saying. "Exactly so," was Lincoln's comment.

In our new free ter[r]itories, a state of nature *does* exist. In them Congress lays the foundations of society; and, in laying those foundations, I say, with Mr. Clay, it is desirable that the declaration of the equality of all men shall be kept in view, as a great fundamental principle; and that Congress, which lays the foundations of society, should, like Mr. Clay, be strongly opposed to the incorporation of slavery among it's [*sic*] elements.<sup>30</sup>

These statements come as close as any to explaining the true nature of the issue which neither side was willing to compromise in 1860-61. In the midst of the crisis, it will be remembered, Congress passed and transmitted to the states for ratification a proposed constitutional amendment forever prohibiting any alteration of the Constitution that would permit Congress to inter-

<sup>29</sup> Roy P. Basler, ed., *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings* (Cleveland, 1946), p. 306.

<sup>30</sup> Lincoln to J. N. Brown, Springfield, Oct. 18, 1858, *ibid.*, p. 479.

fere with slavery in the states.<sup>31</sup> This provision was acceptable to Lincoln and the Republicans even though they were refusing to concede a single inch to slavery in the territories. On the other hand, the complete guarantee of slavery where it actually existed was insufficient to satisfy the southern leaders, so long as permission to extend slavery into new areas was withheld. For both sides the issue was drawn over potentialities. But this does not mean that it involved unrealities. In the mid-nineteenth-century climate of opinion, potentialities were among the most real of all things. The issue of slavery in the territories was an emotionally potent one because it involved a postulate concerning the creation and development of social institutions, and a corresponding ethical imperative, both of which were woven into the very texture of American thought.

How communitarianism fitted into this tradition should now be clear. The communitarian point of view, in simplest terms, was the idea of commencing a wholesale social reorganization by first establishing and demonstrating its principles completely on a small scale in an experimental community. Such an approach to social reform could command widespread support only if it seemed natural and plausible. And it was plausible only if one made certain definite assumptions about the nature of society and of social change. These assumptions turn out to be precisely the ones whose pervasive influence on American thought this paper has been examining.

A belief in the plasticity of social institutions was prerequisite, for communitarians never thought in terms of a revolutionary assault upon a stiffly defended established order. To men and women elsewhere, the West seemed living proof that institutions were indeed flexible. If they failed to find them so at home, their hopes turned westward. As Fourierism declined in the later 1840's, its leaders talked more and more of a "model phalanx" in the West. George Ripley, founder of Brook Farm in Massachusetts, defended this shift, though it belied his earlier hopes for success in the East:

There is so much more pliability of habits and customs in a new country, than in one long settled, that an impression could far more easily be produced and a new direction far more easily given in the one than in the other. An Association which would create but little sensation in the East, might produce an immense effect in the West.<sup>32</sup>

But it was more than pliancy which communitarians had to believe in. Their doctrine assumed that institutions of world-wide scope might grow from tiny seeds deliberately planted. Such an assumption would be hard to

<sup>31</sup> It passed the House on Feb. 28, 1861, by a vote of 133 to 65; the Senate on March 2, by 24 to 12.

<sup>32</sup> [George Ripley], "Model Phalanx," *The Harbinger*, IV (Jan. 16, 1847), 94.



make in most periods of history. The great organism of society must usually be taken for granted—a growth of untold centuries, from origins wrapped in obscurity. Rarely does experience suggest that the little projects of the present day are likely to develop into the controlling institutions of the morrow. Rarely has society been so open and free as to make plausible a belief that new institutions might be planted, might mature, and might reproduce themselves without being cramped and strangled by old ones. In America in the early nineteenth century, however, men and women believed that they could observe new institutions in the making, and they were confident that these would develop without check and almost without limit. Large numbers of Americans could be attracted to communitarianism because so many of its postulates were things they already believed.

Large numbers of Americans *were* attracted to communitarianism. If the experimental communities of the Middle West had been exclusively colonies of immigrants, attracted to vacant lands, then communitarianism would have had little significance for American intellectual history. But for the most part, as we have seen, communitarian colonies were made up of residents of the region. Though such experiments did not arise spontaneously on the frontier itself, they did arise with great frequency and spontaneity in the settled areas behind it. There men possessed a powerful sense of the plasticity of American institutions but were at the same time in contact with the social ideas circulating throughout the North Atlantic world. One strain of thought fertilized the other. In a typical communitarian experiment of the Middle West, men might pay lip service to Owen or Fourier, but their central idea was the conviction that a better society could grow out of the patent-office model they were intent on building.

On the whole, the fact that communitarianism stood in such a well-defined relationship to a central concept in American thought is perhaps the most important thing which the intellectual historian can seize upon in attempting to assess the significance of the communitarian movement. This movement has been looked at from many different points of view: as part of the history of socialism or communism, as a phase of religious history, as one manifestation of a somewhat vaguely defined “ferment” of democratic ideas. Communitarianism was relevant to these different categories, of course, but its true nature is hardly made clear by considering it within the limits of any one of these classifications. The only context broad enough to reveal the true significance of the communitarian point of view was the context provided by the early nineteenth-century American way of thinking about social change.

This way of thinking was summed up and applied in the manifesto with which Victor Considerant launched his ambitious but ill-fated colony of French Fourierites in Texas in 1854:

If the nucleus of the new society be implanted upon these soils, to-day a wilderness, and which to-morrow will be flooded with population, thousands of analogous organizations will rapidly arise without obstacle and as if by enchantment around the first specimens. . . .

It is not the desertion of society that is proposed to you, but the solution of the great social problem on which depends the actual salvation of the world.<sup>33</sup>

The last sentence stated an essential part of the true communitarian faith. A remaking of society, not an escape from its problems, was the aim of communitarian social reform during the period when it exerted a real influence upon American social thought. The dwindling of the ideal into mere escapism was the surest symptom of its decline. Such decline was unmistakable in the latter half of the nineteenth century. By 1875 a genuinely sympathetic observer could sum up in the following modest terms the role which he believed communitarian colonies might usefully play in American life:

That communistic societies will rapidly increase in this or any other country, I do not believe. . . . But that men and women can, if they *will*, live pleasantly and prosperously in a communal society is, I think, proved beyond a doubt; and thus we have a right to count this another way by which the dissatisfied laborer may, if he chooses, better his condition.<sup>34</sup>

In the late nineteenth century, it is true, numerous communitarian experiments were talked about and even commenced, and their prospectuses echoed the brave old words about planting seeds of a future universal social order. But such promises had ceased to be credible to any large number of Americans. Industrialism had passed beyond the stage at which a community of twenty-five hundred persons could maintain, as Owen believed they could, a full-scale manufacturing establishment at current levels of technological complexity and efficiency. Before the end of the nineteenth century, even communitarian sects like the Rappites and Shakers were in visible decline. The impulse to reform had not grown less, but it had found what it believed were more promising methods of achieving its ends. Men and women who were seriously interested in reform now thought in terms of

<sup>33</sup> Victor Considerant, *The Great West: A New Social and Industrial Life in Its Fertile Regions* (New York, 1854), p. 58.

<sup>34</sup> Charles Nordhoff, *The Communistic Societies of the United States* (New York, 1875), p. 418. In his "Introduction" Nordhoff expressed clearly his hope that through communitarian colonies laboring men might escape from the growing sense of economic dependence that was fostering "Trades-Unions and International Clubs," which wielded, he believed, "a power almost entirely for evil" (p. 13).

legislation, or collective bargaining, or organized effort for particular goals, or even revolutionary seizure of power. Rarely did they consider, as so many in the first half of the century instinctively did, the scheme of embodying their complete ideal in a small-scale experimental model. When they did so, it was almost always a temporary move, a way of carrying on in the face of some setback, or a way of organizing forces for a future effort of a quite different sort.<sup>35</sup> Such revivals of the communitarian program were apt to be sternly denounced as escapism by the majority of up-to-date socialists.<sup>36</sup> In America, as in the world at large, communitarianism had become a minor eddy in the stream of socialism, whose main channel had once been defined by the communitarian writings of Robert Owen, William Thompson, Charles Fourier, Albert Brisbane, Victor Considerant, and Etienne Cabet.

The decline of communitarian confidence and influence paralleled the decline of the cluster of beliefs or postulates which this paper has been exploring. These intellectual assumptions faded out, not because the so-called free land was exhausted nor because the frontier line had disappeared from maps of population density but simply because social patterns had become so well defined over the whole area of the United States that the possibility no longer existed of affecting the character of the social order merely by planting the seeds of new institutions in the wilderness.<sup>37</sup>

How quickly and completely the old set of beliefs vanished from the American mind was revealed by certain observations of James Bryce in 1888. In a speech to a western legislature Bryce reminded his hearers of "the fact that they were the founders of new commonwealths, and responsible to posterity for the foundations they laid." To his immense surprise, he discovered that this point of view—"trite and obvious to a European visitor,"

<sup>35</sup> On the episodic and tangential character of certain late nineteenth-century communitarian plans sponsored by individuals and groups whose main efforts took quite a different direction, see Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States* (4th ed., New York, 1906), pp. 331-32; and Howard H. Quint, "Julius A. Wayland, Pioneer Socialist Propagandist," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXV (March, 1949), 585-606, especially pp. 592-93, 605.

<sup>36</sup> Thus Charles H. Kerr, head of the principal firm issuing socialist books, published a history of the Ruskin community written by one of the participants, but inserted his own cautionary preface explaining that the experiment was "a scheme which sought to build a new social order without regard to the essential facts familiar to all socialists . . . , an attempt on the part of a group of people to escape from capitalism and establish co-operation." Isaac Broome, *The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association* (Chicago, 1902), "Publisher's Preface," p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> The most significant revival of communitarianism in recent times has been in Israel, precisely the spot in the modern world where the idea of planting a radically new society rather than transforming an old one has been most clearly put and most strongly supported. For a recent study of these co-operative colonies see C. W. Efraymson, "Collective Agriculture in Israel," *Journal of Political Economy*, LVIII (February, 1950), 30-46.

so he believed—had not entered the minds of these American legislators.<sup>38</sup> In this instance it was not Bryce but his hearers who showed the greater perception. The idea he expressed had once been held with tenacity. In the end, however, it had grown not trite but anachronistic. No longer did it state a profound reality, as it might have done half a century before. By the 1880's there was no point in talking about laying the foundations of new commonwealths within the United States. The reforms in American life which Bryce thought necessary were not to be achieved that way. Serious social reformers in the later nineteenth century were faced with the task of altering institutions already firmly established. Henry George and Edward Bellamy recognized this in their writings; Grangers and trade unionists in their organizations; opponents of monopoly in the legislative approach they adopted. For most American reformers in an industrialized age, communitarianism was a tool that had lost its edge, probably for ever.

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<sup>38</sup> James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (3d ed., 2 vols., New York, 1894), II, 838.

# The British Conservatives and the American Civil War

WILBUR DEVEREUX JONES

IN many places one encounters the inference or assertion that the British Conservative party, the political organ of the landed interests, was deeply sympathetic toward the South during the American Civil War. Often the cultural similarities between the British landowners and the Southern planters are stressed, and sometimes a Conservative distaste for republican government is alleged in explanation of this attitude. However, whether these or other interpretations are used, the idea that the Conservatives hoped for a Southern victory appears to be widely accepted. The purpose of this paper is to examine Conservative American policy during the war in the light shed by the Disraeli Papers,<sup>1</sup> and some other sources, in an effort to establish the extent to which the Conservatives may be said to have given aid and comfort to the cause of the South. For it may be assumed that any sympathy worthy of the name must at some time have been expressed by overt act.

A curious fact that strikes one in studying these letters is that the life or death struggle in America did not excite or hold Conservative interest to any appreciable extent. America was far away, and its affairs were not nearly so important as a division on a domestic issue, or the troubles of Poland and Denmark. Because of this tendency to ignore the war, it is difficult to cull evidences from the letters of the Conservatives which indicate a sympathy for one side or the other. We know, however, that Lord Derby, the leader of the party, wrote the slave emancipation bill of 1833, and that, during his visit to America many years before, he was more favorably impressed by New England than by Southern society.<sup>2</sup> His son, Lord Stanley, one of the most liberal of the party magnates, was considered to be a par-

<sup>1</sup> The papers used in preparing this article are located at Hughenden Manor, the old Disraeli estate near High Wycombe. The letters of Lords Barrington, Cairns, Beauchamp, Carnarvon, Cranborne, Cranbrooke, Derby, Malmesbury, Manners, and Stanley, and of Ralph A. Earle, George W. Hunt, Sir William Joliffe, Henry Lennox, Edward Bulwer Lytton, Sir John Pakington, and Philip Rose were studied for the period 1860-65. Disraeli's answers, unfortunately, are not included in the collection. (This source will hereinafter be referred to as "DP.")

<sup>2</sup> The religiosity and progressiveness of New England impressed him; slavery in the South alienated him. While he felt Calhoun was a truly fine gentleman, the small farmers class seemed inferior to that of the North. Edward Stanley, *Journal of a Tour in America* (1930), pp. 332-33.

tisan of the North.<sup>3</sup> Both tended to be pacifists and isolationists in foreign affairs. Disraeli, the leader in the Commons, was an opportunist, a curious mixture of liberalism and conservatism, and his sympathies probably lay on the side of the North.<sup>4</sup> Lord Malmesbury, who had been Foreign Secretary in the Derby governments, was usually willing to share Derby's judgments, and in this case it meant he was neutral, or mildly favorable to the North. These are the men who fashioned party policy and to a considerable extent controlled the activities of their subordinates. On the other hand, the party had its pro-Southern wing, and this group included Seymour Fitzgerald, spokesman on foreign affairs in the House of Commons, and Lord Robert Cecil, who later, as Lord Salisbury, was to head the party.<sup>5</sup> The lesser members were divided in their sympathies on the American question.<sup>6</sup>

Just why these individuals chose sides as they did is an interesting question. Mere landowning, as is seen in the case of Lord Stanley, did not automatically create Southern sympathies. There were, however, more tangible reasons for the existence of pro-Southern feeling. The able Confederate propagandists apparently convinced many British statesmen, if not of the full justice of their cause, at least of the barbarity of the Federal conduct of the war. The gullibility of some of the British aristocrats is demonstrated by Lord Lothian's book, *The Confederate Secession*, which presented the most unbelievable atrocities as fact.<sup>7</sup> "I am reading Lord Lothian's book on secession in America," Lord Beauchamp wrote Disraeli in 1865. "I think it very good perhaps however because it agrees with my own views."<sup>8</sup> That the Southern propaganda fell on fertile soil, as this excerpt suggests, is incontestable, for the ground had been prepared by a full century of mutually irritating "incidents" between the United States and Great Britain. Many British statesmen, not without reason, had long been convinced that the United States coveted Canada, some were of the opinion that America sought a war with Britain, and even the friends of the United States admitted the difficulties of reaching a rapprochement with her because of the traditional distrust.<sup>9</sup> The American Civil War did not, therefore, create

<sup>3</sup> Bright attested to this. John Bright, *Speeches of John Bright* (Boston, 1865), pp. 31-32.

<sup>4</sup> See Bright's statement, *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXVII, 1619.

<sup>5</sup> Owsley lists Fitzgerald as a staunch supporter of the South. Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 186, 193.

<sup>6</sup> C. N. Newdegate, Spencer H. Walpole, and Wilson Patten appear to have been favorable to the North; Sir James Fergusson, J. T. Hopwood, Lord A. V. Tempest, J. Whiteside, G. W. P. Bentinck and Sir James Elphinstone undoubtedly were pro-Southern.

<sup>7</sup> Lothian outlined a large number of alleged crimes, and added that there were others which would "make the flesh creep," and some "too horrible to be published." Marquess of Lothian, *The Confederate Secession* (London, 1864), *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Beauchamp to Disraeli, Mar. 17, 1865, Beauchamp 12, DP.

<sup>9</sup> During the disturbances in Canada in 1838, Derby (then Stanley) wrote Peel that the



this unfortunate circumstance but merely brought it into sharper focus, and the Southern sympathies of many British statesmen can be traced more surely to it, and to the Confederate propaganda, than to intangible cultural affinities between British landowners and Southern planters.

It is interesting to note that the British leaders were also divided in their analyses of public opinion and reaction to the war. In 1862, for instance, Lord John Russell, the Foreign Secretary, wrote, "The great majority are in favour of the South & nearly our whole people are of opinion that separation wd. be a benefit both to North & South."<sup>10</sup> Derby once observed that the first public reaction was favorable to the North, but later he was under pressure from many political friends to aid the South.<sup>11</sup> Malmesbury, of course, mentioned the existence of considerable Southern feeling in his memoirs.<sup>12</sup> Gladstone observed on one occasion that most members of Parliament opposed slavery but were friendly toward the South.<sup>13</sup> In 1863 and 1864 certain British statesmen, supporters of the North, described the sentiments of the British masses as being on the Federal side, and on both occasions other members of Parliament disagreed with them.<sup>14</sup> No doubt public opinion varied in its inclinations from time to time in response to the events of the war, and it appears rather difficult to generalize on the subject. Still more, perhaps, it is unsafe to describe the acts and motives of British statesmen in terms of the American conflict.

When the war came, the Conservative party was guided by party traditions and interests rather than by any sentimental attachment for either side. Everyone—landowners, factory owners, and the mass of British people—hated slavery, but the slavery issue, largely as a result of the ambiguous Federal attitude toward it, was submerged. The Conservative leaders, in 1861, regarded the war as one for Southern independence, and toward such a struggle party tradition demanded a strict neutrality. Time and again in the past Lord Derby had criticized the government on foreign policy,<sup>15</sup>

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accounts from Canada were not satisfactory, "... but the worst parts of them are mainly from American newspapers whose 'wish' may be 'father' of the thought." Stanley to Peel, Dec. 7, 1838, Peel Papers, Brit. Mus. 40425. At the time Derby felt Northern expansion into Canada was prevented by the South for sectional reasons. Many British statesmen shared Derby's suspicions. Clarendon wrote: "The northern mob & press guided by Mr. Seward have long been wanting to pick a quarrel with us..." Clarendon to Russell, Dec. 4, 1861, Russell Papers, Public Records Office 30/22, 96. See also, Stanley to Disraeli, July 15, 1862, Stanley 12, DP (quoted below, pp. 532-33).

<sup>10</sup> Russell to Lyons, July 19, 1862, Russell Papers, PRO 30/22, 96.

<sup>11</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXIX, 23-26.

<sup>12</sup> Diary, May 23, 1862, in Earl of Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister* (3d ed., London, 1884), II, 273.

<sup>13</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXI, 1800-12.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, CLXXII, 561; CLXXVI, 2179-81.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, *ibid.*, CXIX, 20-22.

and his party was aligned against the Palmerstonian tendency to meddle in the domestic affairs of other nations. With the news of the outbreak of war, Derby immediately proclaimed the neutrality of his party. Shortly thereafter he approved the recognition of Southern belligerency, and proved, to his own satisfaction at least, that such a step was neither hostile nor even unfavorable to the North. When W. H. Gregory, a friend of the South, was about to introduce a motion for the recognition of the Southern states, a Conservative, Wilson Patten, speaking for a party which desired to maintain friendly relations with the Federals, persuaded him to withdraw it.<sup>16</sup> This was by no means the only time that Conservative neutrality was actually favorable to the North.

When the *Trent* affair occurred, the Conservatives gave united support to Russell's policy of firmness.<sup>17</sup> Judging the incident in the climate of opinion of today, and remembering the ideas of national honor current in the last century, it must be conceded that considerable justice lay on the side of Britain. Not even lovers of peace such as Stanley and Derby could afford, because of national interest, to be wishy-washy in this case, and there was nothing anti-Federal in Britain's stand. She would have adopted a like course toward any nation guilty of a similar illegality.

Perhaps more important than the *Trent* incident itself is the question whether any of the British statesmen subsequently tried to capitalize on the anti-American sentiment created by it for the benefit of the South. Here was another crisis in British-American relations. Early in 1862, Ralph Earle, a trusted adviser on foreign affairs, wrote Disraeli:

I came in the train with *Gregory*. He is, I believe, going to consult you about his course, wh. at present appears to be this, to give notice on Friday "that he will call attention to the expediency of recognizing the South etc." Now this, it appears to me, will do mischief. What we ought to avoid is a debate *without an issue*, for the Govt. are doing all in their power to ascertain which way the wind is likely to blow. . . . If it should appear to you essential that G. should be *stopped*, or receive another direction, you might send for him, saying that I told you of his wish to see you. I need hardly say that I made no observation upon G.'s intended proceedings.<sup>18</sup>

The Conservatives, like the government, were obviously embarrassed by their inability to predict the outcome of the war,<sup>19</sup> and, as the last sentence

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, CLXII, 1829-32; CLXV, 26-39; CLXIII, 762.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, CLXV, 26-39. See also Thomas L. Harris, *The Trent Affair* (Indianapolis, 1896), p. 143. Russell wrote Lyons: "The feeling here is very quiet but very decided. There is no party about it: all are unanimous." Russell to Lyons, Dec. 1, 1861, Russell Papers, PRO 30/22, 96.

<sup>18</sup> Earle to Disraeli, Feb. 2, 1862, Earle 12, DP.

<sup>19</sup> While few British statesmen believed the Union would be restored, it does not neces-

of this letter shows, the leading members of the party were very careful about their utterances on the subject. True to their policy of neutrality, however, the Conservatives refused to capitalize on the *Trent* incident to stir up feeling. In the Commons, Disraeli demanded that a "generous interpretation" and "liberal construction" be accorded the acts of the Federal government;<sup>20</sup> while, in the Lords, Derby approved the government's course toward "... that country [with] which, of all others, it is most our interest and our wish to maintain friendly relations ..." and refused to recognize the South.<sup>21</sup> Both leaders, however, called for a discussion of the effectiveness of the blockade, a project dear to the hearts of the Southerners.<sup>22</sup> When certain newspapers interpreted this request as a Conservative sanction for breaking the blockade, however, Malmesbury denied explicitly in the Lords that the Conservative party supported such an action or plan.<sup>23</sup> As will be noted later, the Conservative request at this time was motivated by party tradition and not by a desire to aid the South. At the same time, it is interesting to note that Disraeli may have had a hand in redirecting Gregory, who was not a member of his party, from the recognition to the blockade question.<sup>24</sup> On March 10, 1862, Russell spoke on the blockade question, and thereafter the Conservatives allowed the matter to rest.<sup>25</sup> By that time the *Trent* resentment had so died down that Russell could write: "There is no longer any excitement here upon the question of America. I fear Europe is going to supplant the affairs of America as an exciting topic."<sup>26</sup>

The early summer brought hints that the French hoped to act with England in mediating the American war, and, on June 13, Lord Carnarvon in the Lords and J. T. Hopwood in the Commons, both Conservatives,

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sarily follow that they wanted to "balkanize" America. John Bright, the best friend of the North, declared that such an opinion did not involve hostility toward the North. Bright, *Speeches*, pp. 31-32. This writer did not find in any of the letters studied a single expression of *hope* that America would be permanently split.

<sup>20</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXV, 64-66.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-39.

<sup>22</sup> Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, chaps. VII-VIII.

<sup>23</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXV, 113-14.

<sup>24</sup> While this writer has no documentary evidence on the point, the fact that Gregory changed his plans between February 2 and 7 from the recognition to the blockade question might indicate that Disraeli gave him an interview, as Earle suggested. Disraeli's fascinating career is studded with such incidents wherein he influenced men who were not members of his party. In this case it was all to the benefit of the North not to have the recognition question discussed just after the *Trent* affair.

<sup>25</sup> Owsley, who no doubt speaks with authority, notes that in April, 1862, the French emperor suggested that Lindsay discuss plans for breaking the blockade with Derby and Disraeli, and that, Derby being ill, Lindsay had an interview with Disraeli. In that interview Disraeli said the Conservatives wanted to break the blockade but desired the French to take the lead. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, pp. 302 ff. If Lindsay reported the conversation correctly, Disraeli's conduct on this occasion was not consistent with his general policy.

<sup>26</sup> Russell to Lyons, Mar. 2, 1862, Russell Papers, PRO 30/22, 96.

asked the government for an explanation of these rumors.<sup>27</sup> The project was denied in both houses by the government, but the fact that two men of the Conservative party acted in concert in bringing up the question would indicate that the mediation idea interested a section of the party. A show-down on the subject, however, was not forced by the Conservatives but by W. S. Lindsay, on the government side, who had a debate on the mediation question scheduled for July 18. The prospect of this discussion brought Lord Derby a visit from Fitzgerald, who wanted instructions on the part he would play in the debate.<sup>28</sup> Derby, whose letter unfortunately gives no clue to his own feelings on the subject, considered the matter of sufficient importance to call a meeting of a few top men in the party. In anticipation of the meeting, Earle wrote Disraeli as follows:

I should be sorry if, in taking up a Southern line, we were to alienate the Manchester party. This House is much too timid to interfere with the Govt. in such a question & it seems to me to be one upon which Ministers are quite safe, as they are uncommitted & therefore free to take up any line, that may suit their Parliamentary position. In fact, it seems that there is nothing good to be got out of this American question, at present, & if we are forced to speak, it might be well merely to deprecate the intervention of Parliament, to say that, as at present advised, you think it well to leave the Executive unfettered to act according to their own discretion.<sup>29</sup>

Stanley, the day following, also furnished Disraeli with his views on the subject:

My Father told me yesterday that a meeting is to be held at his house on Monday or Thursday to discuss the American question. Quarter sessions will keep me away, and I therefore send you my views in the fewest possible words.

It is premature to recognize the southern confederacy. We can't even get at them. The whole coast is in federal hands. It can hardly be argued that a country which has not a port nor a means of ingress or egress is in a position to claim recognition of its independence.

Mediation is impossible. The offer of it useless unless you want to provoke insult from the North.

If you intervene, you must prepare to enforce the acceptance of your proposal. In its present temper, the north would go to war rather than yield. They are too much excited to calculate chances.

If the autumn campaign ends without decisive result, the south will have held its own for two complete years: debt, taxes, failure of trade will have begun to tell in the north, which they have not as yet done. Further—the continued occupation of New Orleans will have convinced the northern leaders that even where material power is in their hands, they cannot conciliate the people whom they have subdued.

<sup>27</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXVII, 534-44.

<sup>28</sup> See Owsley, p. 330. Lindsay, according to this source, consulted Disraeli and Fitzgerald, among others, and thereafter watered down his resolution. Derby's letter of July 11 indicates he was not aware of this collusion. Derby to Disraeli, July 11, 1862, Derby 12, DP.

<sup>29</sup> Earle to Disraeli, July 14, 1862, Earle 12, DP.

By the beginning of next session, the position will have become intelligible. The years of military and political failure will have justified President Lincoln to abandoning a hopeless undertaking—always supposing that no decisive success is gained by him in the meanwhile.

If we want to protract the war—to stimulate the combatants to the utmost, let us talk of interfering to stop it. If we want it to die out, let us carefully stand aloof. The strongest American feelings are, distrust of England and belief in their own invincibility. Nothing can do away the first—events only can disprove [sic] the last.<sup>30</sup>

The above correspondence indicates the attitudes of two Conservatives, one a political opportunist, the other a Northern sympathizer, on the subject of intervention. Conspicuously absent is a reference to an emotional bias for one side or the other. While the minutes of the conference are not available, it was evidently decided that the strictest neutrality should be observed, for only some minor members, such as Lord A. V. Tempest and J. Whiteside, were permitted to express their Southern sympathies. Fitzgerald had hoped to be allowed to speak during this debate, and it is indicative of the strict discipline exercised by the Conservative leaders that this proponent of the South was held in check.<sup>31</sup> The Liberal party was not nearly so successful in establishing this type of censorship over the official utterances of its members.

The leaders of the Conservative party were, indeed, so guarded in their language regarding the war that some members of the party were confused about it. In September, 1862, Henry Lennox wrote complainingly to Disraeli:

I have to attend a Public Meeting at Chichester, on Friday evening, to subscribe for the distressed operatives. I shall be called on to speak & to allude to the American War. Not having seen you for so long, I am not sure what line to take: particularly on a question like this, where the changes have been so rapid & startling.

I have studied the speech at "N.W. Bucks." All that I can make out from that, is compressed in the following summary: 1) Gloomy prophecies. 2) Impossibility of foreseeing any termination to the war & ergo to the Distress. 3) An oracular silence as to the merits of the two sides.

These sort of negative opinions are difficult to clothe in words, at least would be for me. If you have time for one line, write it to me. . . .<sup>32</sup>

Disraeli's reply, unfortunately, is not available, but there can be little doubt as to its import. Late in 1862 the earl of Derby spoke in the Town Hall at Manchester under circumstances similar to those described by Lennox. Like

<sup>30</sup> Stanley to Disraeli, July 15, 1862, Stanley 12, DP.

<sup>31</sup> When he spoke in Parliament, Fitzgerald was so moderate that one would have hardly suspected his true feelings. And he only rarely referred to the war. See *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXIII, 501-508, 955-65. On the second occasion W. E. Forster, a friend of the North, voiced approval of his speech.

<sup>32</sup> Lennox to Disraeli, Sept. 23, 1862, Lennox 13, DP.

Disraeli, he preserved an "oracular silence" on the merits of the contestants in the war.<sup>33</sup>

In the autumn of 1862, Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone began to consider seriously the possibility of a joint offer of mediation by England, France, and Russia.<sup>34</sup> From France in early November, Malmesbury reported to Disraeli that those three nations planned to propose an armistice and an opening of the American ports, adding: "I can't suppose the North will accept it."<sup>35</sup> Information on the subject was furnished to the party leader, Lord Derby, by both Malmesbury and Disraeli, but he appears to have taken only a casual interest in the reports:

. . . the armistice, at this moment, would have been altogether in favour of the South, and the North could not have assented to it. It certainly looks, however, as if there were a growing party in the North, favourable to terminating the war, though the Democrats do not avow their wishes, but on the contrary, urge its more active prosecution. I conclude that the supercession of McClellan, of which we hear today, is the first fruit of the Democratic Elections. I believe they are dismissing their ablest General. Johnny [Russell] has committed a far more grievous mistake in the Danish case. . . .<sup>36</sup>

Later in the Lords, Derby expressed his wish for an armistice, but only if both North and South were agreeable.<sup>37</sup> The government, he added, was in a better position to know than he was whether or not such an offer would merely cause added irritation.

Before the opening of Parliament in 1863, Ralph Earle wrote two letters to Disraeli, the first late in July, 1862, the other early in February, 1863. In the first he observed:

I suppose we shall be *Southern*, more or less, sooner or later. Try to work up this argument: if, as is alleged by the Northern Sympathizers, even the Times—the cause of the South is that of Slavery, how can England justify her *neutrality* to say nothing of the constant sparring with the North, to which the Govt. and the press have lent themselves? If the struggle is, as these represent it, our attitude has been utterly unworthy.<sup>38</sup>

Disraeli apparently dismissed the suggestion of the "Southern" position, but the idea in the second letter met with acceptance:

The conclusion of Milner Gibson a fortnight ago was that Slavery was the real cause of the American conflict, that the South are advocates of a "*hateful*,"

<sup>33</sup> *Distress in Lancashire*, speech of the Rt. Hon. Earl of Derby at the County Meeting held in the Town Hall, Manchester, Dec. 2, 1862 (Manchester, 1862).

<sup>34</sup> Palmerston to Gladstone, Sept. 24, 1862; Gladstone to Palmerston, Sept. 25, 1862, Gladstone Papers, Brit. Mus. 44272.

<sup>35</sup> Malmesbury to Disraeli, Nov. 2, 1862, Malmesbury 13, DP.

<sup>36</sup> Derby to Disraeli, Nov. 22, 1862, Derby 12, DP.

<sup>37</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXIX 23-26.

<sup>38</sup> Earle to Disraeli, July 31, 1862, Earle 12, DP.



*infidel & pestilent*" institution & that we ought to remain neutral. Remember Lord John's Newcastle speech on the causes of the war. Sir Robert Peel the other day said that the Lord of Hosts was on the side of the South.

Is it necessary to take a line about America? I have some things ready which might be said *about* the question.<sup>39</sup>

On February 5, 1863, at the opening of Parliament, Disraeli effectively used the points Earle had given him to show how widely the various members of the government, Russell (the Foreign Minister), Milner Gibson (president of the Board of Trade), and Sir Robert Peel (chief secretary for Ireland), differed on the subject of the war.<sup>40</sup> Far from adopting a Southern line, he excoriated his enemy, Gladstone, for his pro-Southern speech at Newcastle, asserting that it indicated a major change of foreign policy on the part of the government. The most important speech of the day, however, was made by Derby in the Lords, for he once more set the course for his party:

It has been said by personal and political friends of my own . . . that the time has arrived when it is desirable that we should recognize the Southern Republic. Upon this subject, regretting as I do to differ from any of my friends, I confess I cannot bring myself to the conclusion that the time has arrived at which it is either wise, politic, or even legitimate, to recognize the South.<sup>41</sup>

The war, he added, must continue until both sides see the necessity of coming to a settlement.

In May, 1863, J. A. Roebuck, from the government side of the House, gave notice of a motion calling for the recognition of the South. By this time, however, it was rather clear that the cause of the South would not command the support of any British party. Russell, in fact, could write confidently to Lyons:

You will see that Roebuck has given notice of a motion to recognize the South. But I think it certain that neither Lord Derby, nor Cobden will support it, & I should think no great number of the Liberal party. Offshoots from all parties will compose the minority.<sup>42</sup>

In spite of the dim prospects of success, Roebuck persevered in his motion, and on June 30 the debate began. Roebuck was very violent and expressed hope the rising "great bully of the world" would be permanently split.<sup>43</sup> The two members who were probably the most active Southern sympathizers on the Conservative side, Lords Robert Cecil and Robert Montagu,

<sup>39</sup> Earle to Disraeli, undated, *ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXIX, 82-84.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23-26.

<sup>42</sup> Russell to Lyons, May 30, 1863, Russell Papers, PRO 30/22, 97.

<sup>43</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXI, 1771-80. This is one of the rare occasions when such a hope was voiced in Parliament during the war. No prominent Conservative ever suggested such a thing.

were apparently put under restraint by their party superiors. Montagu merely repeated Derby's dictum of February 5 regarding the inadvisability of recognizing the South, and called for an impartial neutrality.<sup>44</sup> Cecil was much more heated in his remarks, but he apparently was forced to be so ambiguous that Bright observed Cecil did not even know what charges he was making against the government.<sup>45</sup> Newdegate, a high Tory with no sympathy for republicanism, made a speech friendly to the North and condemnatory of the resolution.<sup>46</sup> Roebuck's effort, of course, ended in failure.

The above chronological account of the development of Conservative policy toward the war covers the subject as completely as the facts discovered by this writer in the Disraeli Papers could make it. There were other facets to their foreign policy, however, which deserve perhaps a special treatment. Party politics, save on certain occasions, continued as usual throughout the war period.<sup>47</sup> Even at the time of the *Trent* crisis, Clarendon wrote:

I went to see Packington's [Pakington] curious old house—he talked to me more like a member of the Govt. than a political opponent & seemed to think that the American difficulty was far too grave to be made a marker of party warfare. . . . All this may be *dodge* as he was talking to me & he may hold very different language when Parlt. meets, but I give it to you for what it may be worth. He was just come from Knowsley [Lord Derby's estate].<sup>48</sup>

While Palmerston's conduct of domestic affairs was generally pleasing to the Conservatives, for he was himself very conservative on home issues, there was a sharp difference of opinion between the two parties on foreign affairs. Since 1850, when he made his famous *Civis Romanus sum* speech in the case of Don Pacifico, Palmerston was closely identified with an aggressive foreign policy, and the inclination to meddle in the domestic affairs of other nations. Derby, on the other hand, stood for a "hands off" policy toward the internal affairs of other nations. ". . . We have nothing whatever to do with any shade or form of government which a country may choose," he said on one occasion, "from the most absolute despotism down to the most entire red republicanism."<sup>49</sup> Many of the incidents in Parliament during the Civil War merely reflect this cleavage of party policy and are not related to the sympathies of the parties at all.

It became a fundamental party tactic of the Conservatives, whenever the opportunity presented itself, to discredit the extreme views Palmerston had

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1780-97.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1818-38.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1840-41.

<sup>47</sup> See *ibid.*, CLXV, 116-17.

<sup>48</sup> Clarendon to Russell, Dec. 8, 1861, Russell Papers, PRO 30/22, 96.

<sup>49</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CXIX, 21.

voiced regarding the protection of British citizens abroad. For example, on February 7, 1862, Carnarvon brought up the case of Mr. Shaver, who had been imprisoned by the Federals on the charge of being implicated with the Confederates; and three days later some other cases of a similar nature were discussed. "I say," Derby observed, "that the treatment of British subjects by the American Government has been such as highly to try the patience of this country." Then he added, "In this instance . . . the *Civis Romanus* does not appear to have derived a great deal of benefit from his citizenship."<sup>50</sup> Palmerston's Roman citizen rose again to haunt him in 1864 when Lord John Manners declared the British people were now attending the funeral rites of the *Civis Romanus*.<sup>51</sup> In this way the incidents of the American Civil War were made to serve the cause of the Conservative party. Well might Earle write in 1861: "The American affair is a happy diversion in our favour, for the old topics . . . unanimously adverse, could not but injure us."<sup>52</sup>

The doctrine of protecting British citizens merged into the greater one of upholding British honor in general. Another tactic the Conservatives used with effect was to charge the government with "bullying" weak powers, and "truckling" to strong ones. The doctrine of Don Pacifico, Cecil once pointed out, was applied only in selected instances.<sup>53</sup> On numerous occasions this attack was made when the government appeared to truckle to the United States, a strong power. They were much more successful, however, when they charged the government with bullying weak nations.<sup>54</sup> In 1863, the government laid itself open for a charge of using weak Brazil roughly, and the Conservatives were so successful that Derby wrote after the debate in the Lords:

In all my experience I never remember such a case: and it rests entirely with our discretion, how far to carry what has been a substantial victory. If the state of parties allowed of it, we might have here a certain majority, if the H. of C. take at all the same view with the Lords. But—if they do—what then?<sup>55</sup>

The final sentence is illuminating. Because of their minority in the Commons, the Conservatives could not replace the government, and these attacks were merely designed to prepare the ground for the election, which was not far off.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, CLXV, 110.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, CLXXIII, 526-27.

<sup>52</sup> Earle to Disraeli, Dec. 3, 1861, Earle 12, DP.

<sup>53</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXII, 987-90; CLXXI, 1645-51.

<sup>54</sup> Derby used this with effect in 1857 when he defended "perplexed and bewildered" China against the "overpowering might" of Britain. *Ibid.*, CXLIV, 1155.

<sup>55</sup> Derby to Disraeli, June 19, 1863, Derby 12, DP.

Numerous incidents arose during the war which brought up complicated problems of maritime law. The Conservatives considered themselves to be the special guardians of the British navy, partly because of a sincere conviction that it was Britain's special means of defense, partly because the policy had been a vote-getter.<sup>56</sup> The cases presented by the American Civil War were often so involved that they afforded handsome opportunities for embarrassing the government. Russell, who on one occasion was forced to admit privately that "our cousins in Washington seem to be first rate attorneys . . ." <sup>57</sup> was time and again in hot water over maritime problems. These cases, too numerous to mention here, arose in great profusion during 1863-1864. The problem of the Laird rams, however, deserves some special attention.

Late in October, 1863, Stanley wrote Disraeli:

We shall be pressed to take up the cause of Mr. Laird and his steam-rams: in Li pool the feeling is generally against Ld. Russell's interference: still it seems too doubtful a question to justify pledging ourselves, until we have the grounds on which he has acted.<sup>58</sup>

To Derby the situation seemed so serious that he feared this, and some other issues of foreign affairs, might overthrow the government.<sup>59</sup> The Conservatives, however, took up Laird's case, largely for two reasons. In the first place the elder Laird was an important member of the party and apparently they were "pressed" to help him. The second reason is seen in the letter of Robert Cecil, the pro-Southern Conservative:

I have been thinking a good deal over what passed on Tuesday night; & the feeling that something more ought to be done presses so strongly on my mind that I venture to trouble you for a few moments by laying my ideas before you. . . . Fortified by the precedent of the rams & the "Gibraltor" they [the government] will be able always on any pretext to stop any ship for any length of time, & they will be able to do it without danger, because they can point to this occasion on which they have done the same without any formal question. This new prerogative may be good or bad; but it is an enormous change in the relation between the subject & the Executive, introduced without the sanction of Parliament by sheer

<sup>56</sup> Regarding belligerent rights, Derby wrote in 1862: "At present, as long as we command the sea, and thereby cripple the commerce of our Enemy, we fight at a great advantage against any commercial, that is, any civilized nation. . . . No doubt those who look *only* to the extension of Commerce . . . naturally desire to see removed any obstacle whether in peace or in war; but we are bound to look to higher objects still; and I earnestly entreat you, not . . . to do . . . anything which may tend . . . to diminish . . . the relative importance of that arm in which we are the strongest." Derby to Disraeli, Mar. 15, 1862, Derby 12, DP. A little later Derby cautioned Disraeli against ". . . endangering the defenses of the Country, and especially those concerned with the Navy, which we gained so much credit for strengthening." Derby to Disraeli, May 21, 1862, Derby 12, DP.

<sup>57</sup> Russell to Lyons, May 4, 1861, Russell Papers, PRO 30/22, 96.

<sup>58</sup> Stanley to Disraeli, Oct. 31, 1863, Stanley 12, DP.

<sup>59</sup> Derby to Disraeli, Nov. 5, 1863, Derby 12, DP.

usurpation. . . . It is our profession that we are the special guardians of the Constitution. We shall belie that profession if we suffer & acquiesce to a breach of it, which our chief legal authority has declared to be unparalleled since the days of General Warrants. I do not mean to say that we should carry any resolution on the subject we might propose. . . . But I feel sure that, in spite of that, we should be fulfilling our plain duty by making the effort: & in vindicating the law against violent encroachment, we should carry the feelings of the country along with us.<sup>60</sup>

Disraeli evidently feared that a Conservative resolution on the subject might lead to a charge that they favored the South. This can be inferred from Cecil's letter of the day following, in reply to Disraeli's instructions:

I will give the notice tomorrow as you suggest. I think it will be unquestionably better both in the motion & in the discussion to ignore the American question altogether, which is totally immaterial to the point we desire to raise.<sup>61</sup>

Russell regarded the resolution as a political move. He wrote Lyons:

I am not at all certain what the verdict will be in the case of the Iron-clads. The opposition in both Houses, in order to secure some of the jury, are going to debate the cases in both houses before the trial comes on. But for the present there does not seem much chance of a change of government.<sup>62</sup>

The rams question, then, provided the combustibles for a party flare-up. Derby had another opportunity to attack his friendly political enemy, Russell, in another round of a battle which had been going on for thirty years.<sup>63</sup> In the Commons the Conservatives likewise made an effort to save their powerful shipbuilders. In May, however, came the announcement that the government had purchased the ships for the British navy and the suit against the Lairds was arranged.<sup>64</sup>

The American Civil War offered more positive opportunities for the Conservatives to build support for their party beyond the mere discrediting of the government in specific instances. Perhaps one of the reasons that they exercised such a close control over the pro-Southern elements in their party, stemmed from a desire to avoid alienating the Manchester party, as Earle's letter of July 14, 1862, indicates. In many ways they tried to battle the label of stand-pattism and reaction, for they realized that the pro-Austrian charge had cost them a considerable number of votes in 1859. This can be seen in Derby's speeches on behalf of the displaced poor in 1861, and his attendance at a banquet given in honor of Garibaldi in 1864.<sup>65</sup> Whenever possible they

<sup>60</sup> Cecil to Disraeli, Feb. 27, 1864, Cranbourne 12, DP.

<sup>61</sup> Cecil to Disraeli, Feb. 28, 1864, *ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Russell to Lyons, Apr. 23, 1864, Russell Papers, PRO 30/22, 97.

<sup>63</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXIV, 1864-92.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, CLXXV, 804-807.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, CLXI, 1064-67, 1695-1700. Earle wrote: "F. Lygon & H. Scott are so shocked at Lord Derby's going to Garibaldian banquet, that they think of staying away on L. King's division, next Wednesday." Earle to Disraeli, undated, 1864, Earle 12, DP.

seized upon opportunities to ingratiate themselves with the British people as a whole, and certainly the finest opportunity provided in the period was the plight of the unemployed of the cotton districts.

It would be unfair to Derby to interpret his activities during the cotton famine solely on the basis of partisan politics, but he could not have been unaware of the effect of his work on the opinion of the country. Not only did he contribute a considerable sum to the relief—the largest single monetary contribution—but he devoted both his time and failing energies to the cause. The story of the famine has been recounted many times, and it is not within the scope of this paper to discuss it at length. However, two letters written at the time by Lord Stanley, who, being Derby's son, was in a good position to know the extent of the suffering, are of some interest. Touring the cotton factory districts in September, 1862, he reported to Disraeli that there were no traces of suffering, that "men, women and children seem hale and healthy," and that this was the opinion of everyone who visited there.<sup>66</sup> A little more than a year later he reported again:

It is incredible how little harm has been done by the cotton famine. Even the public houses go on as usual. The truth is the operatives living on 2/3rd of their former wages are better off than the average English laborers; and what cotton has lost, wool & flax have gained. Still even these explanations do not account for the facts. All one can say is the facts are so.<sup>67</sup>

Almost all other accounts tell an entirely different story, and his letters may merely prove that young Stanley was a poor observer.<sup>68</sup> One might be certain, however, that the statesmen of the time would not have laid themselves open to charges of callousness by underrating the suffering of the unemployed. At any rate, the earl of Derby had the pleasure of hearing himself cheered in the streets of Preston,<sup>69</sup> and only a few years later, after passing the Reform Bill of 1867, he accepted the plaudits of the people of Manchester. It would have been hardly consistent for the Conservative leaders to hope for a Northern defeat in order to discredit republicanism, while their course during the period was aimed at bringing themselves closer to the people. The American Civil War, indeed, brought the Conservatives nearer to the British masses, and the masses closer to a democratic franchise.

Both parties, however, entertained a suspicion that the United States, once she had beaten the South, might turn on Canada. In October, 1864,

<sup>66</sup> Stanley to Disraeli, Sept. 4, 1862, Stanley 12, DP.

<sup>67</sup> Stanley to Disraeli, Oct. 31, 1863, *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> His father wrote quite differently. See Derby to Malmesbury, Oct. 31, 1862, Malmesbury, *Memoirs*, II, 285. So did Gladstone. See Gladstone to Palmerston, Sept. 25, 1862, Gladstone Papers, Brit. Mus. 44272.

<sup>69</sup> Stanley to Disraeli, Sept. 4, 1862, Stanley 12, DP.



Russell wrote to Lyons: "You can best tell whether the Govt. at Washington look to unite our provinces to their own Northern Dominion. But if they do, they must look to a fight with us."<sup>70</sup> The Conservative leaders occasionally received communications from members of their party expressing concern over Canada.<sup>71</sup> On the Canadian question, however, the two leaders differed earlier in the war. Disraeli felt that sending troops to Canada would do no real good but would simply convince the United States that Britain had hostile intentions.<sup>72</sup> Derby took the position that it was Britain's duty to provide reinforcements for the colony.<sup>73</sup> This difference of opinion continued through the war. When the United States abrogated the Rush-Bagot agreement, and relations between the United States and Canada became increasingly strained, both Derby and Malmesbury took fright, being convinced that the United States was in an expansive mood and preparing for a showdown. To what extent their fears were played upon, as were those of the pro-Southern Fitzgerald, by Confederate agents, is not clear, but Derby was evidently shaken out of his policy of caution in dealing with America, and he went so far as to charge the United States, in Parliament, with hostility to Britain.<sup>74</sup> The rest of the speech was largely a rehash of his former pronouncements regarding British relations with Canada,<sup>75</sup> but the hostility charge caused some excitement. Gladstone wrote: "Ld. Derby's speech is, even from him, amazing. I am certain no Greek hero before Troy would have been so rash."<sup>76</sup> Disraeli, in the other house, was quick to bring the Conservative foreign policy back to an even keel by denying that Derby believed the United States wanted to fight Britain. After declaring that he and Derby had concurred all along regarding the policy toward the United States, he went on to praise that nation.<sup>77</sup> It is indicative of the caution displayed by the Conservative leaders during the war that the suggestion by Derby that the United States was excited and hostile to Britain, facts undoubtedly true, should create some excitement. Derby's outspokenness, however, had caused him trouble before this, and was to do so later,<sup>78</sup> but it is

<sup>70</sup> Russell to Lyons, Oct. 20, 1864, Russell Papers, PRO 30/22, 97.

<sup>71</sup> Adderley to Joliffe, July 19, 1862, Joliffe 13, DP.

<sup>72</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXIII, 1523-27.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, CLXV, 26-39.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, CLXXVII, 1562, 425-30.

<sup>75</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*, CXXIV, 708-709.

<sup>76</sup> Gladstone to Cobden, Feb. 22, 1865, Gladstone Papers, Brit. Mus. 44136.

<sup>77</sup> Disraeli made this speech in answer to a charge made by Forster that Derby had declared the United States wanted to start a war with England. *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXVII, 1570-78.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Derby's speech on Lincoln's assassination in 1865, and his "unmuzzling the Catholics" speech of the same year. *Ibid.*, CLXXVIII, 1223-26; CLXXX, 789-90. Derby, an outstanding speaker, loved colorful phrases, and the "worse than a crime—a gross blunder" remark in referring to Lincoln's assassination was no more meant to offend the United States than the "unmuzzling" metaphor was designed to alienate the Catholics, whose vote his party eagerly sought.

unwise to read into this speech a personal hostility toward the United States, or a desire to stir up a conflict with her. For a pacifist like Derby, nothing could have been further from his mind. Bright, the great friend of the Federal cause, confirmed this shortly thereafter when he declared that no Briton "out of Bedlam" wanted a war with the United States.<sup>79</sup> Too often, perhaps, both at that time and later, Americans interpreted British defensiveness for offensiveness and turned her suspicion of American hostility into British hostility toward America.

The foregoing may perhaps provide, in its larger outlines at least, a synthesis of Conservative foreign policy during the Civil War. Upon the basis of the study, one might be justified in making a number of generalizations. In the first place, it appears that the British Conservative party, being out of power and having little or nothing to do with the direction of foreign affairs, did not take a very deep interest in the war. Secondly, they adopted their traditional policy of neutrality with regard to it, and the responsible men in their party were not only extremely careful to be neutral in their official utterances but they exercised a restraining influence over the pro-Southern members of their party. They were considerably more successful in the latter attempt than the Liberal party. Robert Cecil, an independent sort of statesman, who later almost broke up the third Derby administration by seceding from it over the Reform Bill, was the hardest to handle. Outside the halls of Parliament, however, the Conservative leaders could not very well control their membership. Thirdly, it appears that the Conservative leaders felt that their neutrality policy was designed to aid the North rather than the South. During all the major crises of the war, at its beginning, just after the Trent affair, during the recognition debate of July, 1862, following the mediation attempts of late 1862, and during the recognition debate of June, 1863, the Conservative policy was either neutral or favorable to the United States. Fourthly, it is rather clear that the Conservatives tried to utilize many of the incidents of the war for their own political benefit, with an eye to the coming election. The whole policy of the party was, in fact, not founded on sentiment or bonds of sympathy but on party tradition and political expediency.

If the above generalizations are true, some allegations have been made which do not fairly reflect the ideas of the party. Missing, both in their speeches in Parliament and in their private correspondence, is the voiced or written hope that the nation across the seas was permanently burst asunder. Missing also was a desire for a Southern victory in order to discredit repub-

<sup>79</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXVII, 1616.

licanism, for the Conservative leaders were busy utilizing all opportunities to gain some sympathy from the British masses and liberals. This writer has no evidence that the Conservative leaders ever toyed with a dangerous idea which might have brought them to power: viz., to unite the pro-Southern members across the house with their party through a pro-Southern commitment. Such a *coup* would have been possible if one assumes, as so many have done, that the rank and file of the Conservative party sought a Southern victory and would have welcomed such a deviation from their traditional policy of neutrality. In the opinion of this writer, however, both the extent and intensity of Southern sympathy among the Conservatives has generally been exaggerated; and the cultural bond between the Southern planter and the British landowner was a rather slender thread.

During her years of struggle and need, the South received only the most illusory solace from the British aristocrats, a detached, innocuous sympathy which was quickly lost amid practical concerns. Of this ineffective type of sympathy there was probably a considerable portion distributed here and there among the Conservatives, and many would have concurred heartily with Russell when he wrote: "I conclude the Confedt. cause is thoroughly & finally defeated. The cause was a bad one, but the courage & ability with which it was supported must excite our admiration."<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Russell to Frederick Bruce, Apr. 22, 1865, Russell Papers, PRO 30/22, 97. Shortly thereafter he observed: "Stonewall Jackson after life's pitiful fever sleeps well. Lee therefore remains the only Confederate in whom I feel any interest. I trust not a hair of his head will be touched, & if not left quiet in Virginia he will come here or go to France. Russell to Frederick Bruce, June 10, 1865, *ibid.*

# A Struggle for Liberty in the Renaissance: Florence, Venice, and Milan in the Early Quattrocento

HANS BARON

## Part Two\*

### I

THE period when the Florentine Commonwealth defended civic liberty against Giangaleazzo Visconti was but a fleeting episode in the development of the Italian Renaissance. The cataclysmic events which, within four or five years, had wiped out every independent state between Rome and Milan with the exception of Florence, and in 1402 for a while had left the Florentine Republic the only opponent to universal monarchy in Italy, did not repeat themselves. But the calmer days that had preceded the storm of Giangaleazzo's expansion—the days when each region of Italy was relatively free to attend to its own affairs—were also gone. Events at the turn of the century had wrought an irrevocable transformation in the interstate relations of the peninsula. The time had passed when small states could defend their independence in isolation. Soon Giangaleazzo's place was taken by other powerful princes: first by the ruler of the south Italian kingdom, and then by Giangaleazzo's son and successor. A generation tired by twelve years of ceaseless diplomatic conflict and open war (1390–1402) was gradually forced to recognize that what had happened in Giangaleazzo's last years had been only the first of a series of events that were to repeat themselves more than once during the early Quattrocento. Again and again Florence found herself called upon to defend the fruits of her past struggle. Now trying to stir up all dormant elements of resistance in Italy, now acting within coalitions, she was for decades to remain the barrier against successive threats of new monarchical expansion.

How did it happen that the ambitious program of the Visconti, the outgrowth of a century of north Italian development, was, soon after Giangaleazzo's death, for a while taken over by the king of Naples?

Giangaleazzo had dealt a deathblow to medieval localism in three great

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sections of north and central Italy which afterwards developed into region-states. When the Visconti empire was dissolved, Venice began to occupy the northeastern states that were now accustomed to foreign rule—events which will require our attention later. Florence pursued the same policy in parts of Tuscany. In 1405–1406 her growing territorial state, in a cruel sequel to the wars with Giangaleazzo, incorporated the city of Pisa, master of the mouth of the Arno. By its partisanship for Giangaleazzo, Pisa had almost sealed Florence's fate in the past struggle, and had again endangered Florence in 1404 when the Pisan *signore*, a bastard of Giangaleazzo, ceded his rights to the port of Leghorn and the sovereignty over Pisa to France. There were conditions inviting similar developments in the northern parts of the Papal State. Bologna in the Emilia, Perugia and Assisi in Umbria, and many towns of local pre-eminence in both provinces, now were republics whose independence had already been once forfeited; they all were easier victims than ever before to a potential centralizing power.

During the second half of the Trecento, at the time of the War of the Eight Saints, the power decreed by fate to accomplish unification among the minor lords and cities under the dominion of the church had seemed to be the Papal See itself. But after the return of the popes from Avignon to Rome the schism had blunted the edge of the papal might and made the scale of the papacy sink so low that at a certain point the papal suzerainty even over the Neapolitan kingdom, one of the pivots of the political order of Italy since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, was in danger of being replaced by the supremacy of the crown of Naples over the Papal State. If this had happened, the long, patient efforts of the popes to rebuild their authority in the central Italian region from Rome to Bologna would only have led the way to an Italian monarchy ruled by the former papal vassal in the south.

That hour seemed to have come during the period which followed the disintegration of Giangaleazzo's empire. When King Ladislaus of Naples, in 1408, received the homage of the city of Rome and her territory, the whole dominion of the church seemed about to fall under his rule. Before the year 1408 came to an end, all Umbria, including Perugia, Assisi, and many places in the other northern papal provinces were under Neapolitan sway. In the following year, Gregory XII ceded the administration of the Papal State to the king in a formal pact. By the spring of 1409 Cortona, southern outpost of Tuscany, was in Ladislaus' hands; his troops were stationed near Arezzo and Siena. What finally stopped the king in his advance to the north was a league concluded between Florence and Siena for the mutual protection of their territories—a league which included Ladislaus' papal and Neapolitan

adversaries, and was capable of becoming the center around which resistance against Neapolitan expansion might rally.<sup>1</sup>

One effect of these rapid and unexpected events was that Florence once more found herself a member in a Tuscan alliance standing for republican freedom. In the later part of the Trecento, Florence had as a rule been the head of Tuscan city-leagues, and the prevailing sentiment had been one of kinship and common pride in the preservation of civic liberty in Tuscany while tyranny was engulfing the remainder of central and northern Italy. The affiliation of Pisa and Siena with Milan during Giangaleazzo's lifetime, and the destruction of Pisa's independence after his death, had threatened to poison future relationships of Florence with the surviving Tuscan city-states. With the Florentine-Sienese pact against the Neapolitan danger the alliance between these two cities, and thus the friendship between northern and southern Tuscany, was restored and was to remain with few interruptions a settled fact to the end of the Renaissance. It is difficult to overrate the importance which the return of the principal city of southern Tuscany to the republican camp had for the climate of political sentiment in the Florentine Renaissance. Without this rapprochement between northern and southern Tuscany it would have been impossible for Machiavelli, a century afterwards, to find a mainstay for his general estimate of the Italian situation in the belief that Tuscany, in contrast to Lombardy with its need for tyrannical rule, had always been and always would remain a region of civic equality, made for the republican way of life.

Another effect of the steadily increasing supremacy of the Neapolitan kingdom was that Florence, as a member of the league against Ladislaus, soon experienced a resurgence of the conviction that the fate of liberty in Italy was a question of active resistance to the growth of the strongest monarchy before it had attained irresistible power. This renewal of the sentiments of the Giangaleazzo period had to be forced upon a reluctant Florence. At first, when because of Giangaleazzo's death the danger from outside had vanished, the recent struggle had not seemed to the Florentines to be the prelude to a new phase in the Italian interstate relations but rather a nightmare that was past and done with, the terrors of which would quickly be compensated by an era of unparalleled prosperity, especially after the capture of Pisa with its vital ports in 1405-1406. The disintegrating state of

<sup>1</sup> The most satisfactory picture of the period of Ladislaus is still that contained in the sixth volume of Ferdinand Gregorovius' *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter* (5th ed., 1908), pp. 577-616. Alessandro Cutolo, *Re Ladislao d'Angiò-Durazzo* (2 vols., Milan, 1936), is now the best guide to the diplomatic events and archival documents, but hardly speaks the last word on the historical significance of Ladislaus' conquest of Italy. See n. 5, below.



the Visconti was left to itself; Florence showed no interest in the restoration of independence to the north Italian states which had been under Giangaleazzo's yoke.

The hopes and longings which then filled the minds of the Florentines are evident in Gregorio Dati's contemporary political analysis of the Giangaleazzo years and the postwar period. Florence, we are told there, was amazed and elated to find that, after decades of great sacrifices and wars, which in the end, during the long siege of Pisa, had led the city almost to bankruptcy,<sup>2</sup> everybody was richer than before. In particular, all real estate values soared; according to Dati's estimate, Florentine wealth was enlarged by one quarter. Something like an economic philosophy of boom and boundless confidence in a new era of peace developed. As long as the tyrant of Lombardy had lived and Pisa had been an inimical neighbor, Dati wrote about 1410, there had always been a suspicion that the Florentine possessions might be lost through a new war. "Now that he [the Lombard tyrant] is dead, his party ruined for ever, Pisa in Florence's possession, and the Florentines are sure that there cannot be war again, every property is safe and . . . [the Florentines] are going to be wealthier than ever before." Florence was on the threshold of a golden age—provided that the Florentines, now "that there is no danger of war being waged against them any more, do not embark on war against others."<sup>3</sup>

With this firm faith in Florence's stake in peace, and tired from the greatest wars the city had ever waged, Florence not only cared little what happened north of the Apennines but was bent on doing everything to come to peaceful terms with the new conqueror from the south. Even after the conclusion of the Florentine-Sienese league in 1409 Florence was only half-heartedly back in the fight, and she seized the first opportunity to restore peace through compromise. This opportunity came in 1411 when Ladislaus, in order to lure Florence away from the anti-Neapolitan league, offered to cede, against payment of a sum of money, the most frightening of his conquests in Giangaleazzo's former empire, the bastion of southern Tuscany: Cortona.

From the moment of the conclusion of this treaty, Florence was a city divided against herself. While the members of one faction continued to favor association with Naples to the point where Leonardo Bruni, the con-

<sup>2</sup> See the letters revealing dangerous insolvencies in Florence in 1406 in consequence of the huge enforced loans during the war, quoted by A. Piattoli (from the *Archivio Datini*) in *Giornale stor. e lett. della Liguria*, N.S. VI (1930), 228.

<sup>3</sup> Gregorio Dati, *L'istoria di Firenze dal 1380 al 1405*, ed. L. Pratesi (Norcia, 1904), pp. 43, 136 ff.

temporary historian, could consider them Neapolitan partisans,<sup>4</sup> another group of the citizenry now recalled the past experience of the Giangaleazzo period; suspicion was spreading that the conqueror was making compromises in order to eliminate Florence's potential allies one by one, and so to pave the way for a peninsular monarchy.

That Ladislaus' designs were so ambitious has been doubted by recent scholars.<sup>5</sup> But many of his contemporaries at least had no doubt about the ultimate design of the Neapolitan king. Whether we interpret his actions as offensive or as defensive, he had placed Rome in a position little better than that of a town in his southern kingdom; he had absorbed Perugia and many smaller places in the north, in fact, everything up to the Siennese and Florentine borders; Florence—just as in Giangaleazzo's day, though this time she was associated with the Siennese south of Tuscany—remained the only obstacle to a monarchy spanning two thirds of the peninsula. As we learn from Florentine writers, it was soon the common feeling—a feeling perhaps in part influenced by the memory of the similar sequence of events in the time of Giangaleazzo—that Ladislaus' words deserved no confidence because "his mind was absolutely set on engulfing our liberty"; he wore insignia on which one read "*o Cesare, o nulla*," was threatening "the freedom of all Italy," and was "plotting to bring all Italy into serfdom."<sup>6</sup> That the fears of Florence were the hopes of the Neapolitan camp is attested by the fact that two of Giangaleazzo's best-known propagandists, who had praised the Milanese lord as the presumptive unifier of Italy—Antonio Loschi and Saviozzo da Siena—now eulogized the king of Naples as the man of destiny for the unification of Italy.<sup>7</sup>

Many incidents in 1413 and 1414 seemed to duplicate the course of events of Giangaleazzo's last years. In 1413, the king of Naples suddenly resumed his drive from the point where he had paused in 1409 under the impact of the Florentine-Siennese alliance. The last sparks of the autonomy of the city

<sup>4</sup> Leonardo Bruni, *Rerum suo Tempore Gestarum Commentarius*, ed. Carmine di Pierro in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new ed., XIX, part III (Bologna, 1925), 441, 443.

<sup>5</sup> Especially by Cutolo, who (*op. cit.*, passim, and in particular p. 433 f.) vigorously denied any "*imperialismo napoletano*" with the somewhat astounding comment that Ladislaus "went to the offensive, occupied entire regions, and threatened the papacy, Florence, and eventually the German king, only to defend himself."

<sup>6</sup> Domenico Buoninsegni, *Storia della Città di Firenze dall' anno 1410 al 1460* (Florence, 1637), p. 7; Giovanni di Paolo Morelli, *Cronica*, ed. in the appendix to Ricordano Malespini, *Istoria fiorentina* (Florence, 1718), p. 355; Lorenzo di Benvenuti in his *Invectiva* against Niccolò Niccoli who was among Ladislaus' partisans in Florence, ed. in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXIV (1894), 177 f.

<sup>7</sup> On Loschi's hope that Ladislaus, as a monarch, would unite Italy, see Giovanni da Schio, *Sulla vita e sugli scritti di A. Loschi vicentino* (Padua, 1858), pp. 171 f. On Saviozzo's praise for Ladislaus on the same score, see Natalino Sapegno, *Il Trecento* (Milan, 1934), p. 473. If Cutolo had considered these facts from the history of contemporaneous publicism, he might have modified his verdict.

of Rome were finally extinguished; the papal city was stormed and brutally pillaged by Neapolitan troops. Immediately afterwards the king with his victorious army marched to the north. In the spring of 1414 he had his headquarters in the heart of Umbria, near Perugia, and, though still trying to avoid open conflict with Florence, was poised to cross the Apennines and occupy Bologna. In the wars against Giangaleazzo, Bologna had been the last door whose closing shut Florence off from the outer world. The conquest of Bologna by a potential enemy who was in possession of Umbria, Rome, and Naples, and thereby of the vital roads connecting the north and the south of the peninsula, would have almost encircled Florence once again, except for her now assured access to the western sea.

At this point the smoldering conflict between those who wished to appease the Neapolitan conqueror and the elements who had been at the helm of the state when Florence was fighting the Milanese tyrant, burst into flames. There was in the city councils a strong group which still insisted on peace at any price. Their thesis was that war always produces incalculable danger and economic disaster, that republics can bide their time since the power of monarchies may come to an end with the death of their rulers. This attitude shows one of the possible effects of Florence's deliverance by the enemy's death in 1402. But the conviction of the very men to whom Florence's perseverance against Giangaleazzo had been owed was (in the words of a judicious and cautious old statesman like Niccolò da Uzzano) that "for the protection of our liberty we must shoulder anything." Gino Capponi, the soul and leader of the past enterprise against Pisa, then uttered the often quoted words, "better would it be to live under the rule of the Ciompi [that is, the laborers of the woolen industry, who had ruled Florence in the revolution of 1378] than under the tyranny of the king." He felt sure of Ladislaus' unreliability; while listening to false pretenses of peace, Florence was losing her natural allies. Peace one should strive to get, but only a peace "with security and honesty. . . . Peace is the counsel of all traitors."<sup>8</sup>

What peace with security meant was outlined by one of the citizens who had been in office during the desperate resistance in 1402, Filippo de' Corsini. The only peace acceptable to Florence, he said, would be one which would assure the independence of Bologna and Siena along with that of Florence—an independence to be guaranteed by Venice and the pope.<sup>9</sup> Thus the two key ideas of the Giangaleazzo period came back to life: Florence's

<sup>8</sup> *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi per il Comune di Firenze*, ed. Cesare Guasti, I (Florence, 1867), 235 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

interest in the survival of other independent city-republics in central Italy, and the awareness of the need for interregional co-operation among Tuscany, the Venetian northeast, and the Papal State, if universal monarchy on the peninsula was to be avoided.

To what extent the determination of the Giangaleazzo period had re-emerged became apparent when this goal was only partially attained. When Agnolo Pandolfini, head of the peace party, returned from a special mission to Naples with the draft of a pact in which Ladislaus promised to give up his recent designs on Bologna and agreed to admit Bologna and Siena as sovereign partners in a friendship treaty, provided Florence recognized his other conquests, the general distrust of any new concession was so deep and genuine that the Council of the Two Hundred refused ratification of the drafted peace no less than twenty-five times; its acceptance was finally more or less enforced by the responsible men in office.<sup>10</sup>

The wholly unexpected death of the king of Naples only two months later, in August, 1414, suddenly made this passionate discussion and revolt seem like much ado about nothing. Death, once again, cut through the knot before the ultimate decision had been reached. But if, for this reason, the events connected with King Ladislaus appear as relatively unimportant in the long-run political development of the Renaissance, they must be written large for their momentous psychological effect. The hopes and fears and political ideas of the Giangaleazzo period had been rekindled before their memory had faded from the Florentine mind.

## II

Thus the new pattern of Italian politics had been rehearsed when, only a few years later, tyrannical expansion once more threatened from the north, the seat of the Visconti. By the end of the second decade of the Quattrocento, the state of Milan had recovered from the decline into which it had fallen after Giangaleazzo's death; its reconstruction was nearing completion at the hands of the last of the great empire builders in northern Italy, Filippo Maria Visconti. About 1420, Milan had reached the stage where any further expansion was bound to be a step along the road that once had led Giangaleazzo to supremacy in Italy. Was Florence to allow the Visconti power again to grow beyond control? At this point, to give assurance of his limited intents, Filippo Maria offered the demarcation of the respective spheres of interest in a formal treaty such as Florence had tried in vain to

<sup>10</sup> These facts are assured by a simultaneous entry in the trustworthy *Diario Fiorentino di Bartolommeo di Michele del Corazza, 1405-1438*, published in *Archivio storico italiano*, 1894, 5th ser., XIV, 253.

obtain from his father. If Florence would give him a free hand north of the line she had proposed to Giangaleazzo in the 1380's and 1390's (a line which, in the West, ran roughly north of the crest of the Apennines, and in the east left Bologna and the papal Romagna to the south outside of the Viscontean sphere), the duke promised to refrain from any interference in the Romagna or in Tuscany.<sup>11</sup>

Was this offer anything more than the device, now well established, of concentrating expansion in one sector, in order to turn upon the rest later with redoubled might? The group of Florentine statesmen who had frowned upon compromising with Giangaleazzo, and who had warned against the pact with Ladislaus, warned against leaving at the mercy of Filippo Maria the smaller states of northern Italy which were already calling for aid—the potential allies of Florence in case of a new Milanese attack. Gino Capponi seems to have foretold exactly what afterwards happened: that Filippo Maria would use the assurance of a sphere free of Florentine intervention to seize Genoa and Brescia, the two remaining bastions in the west and east of Lombardy, only to come forward with a greater demand once he was in possession of them.<sup>12</sup> But although Capponi was seconded by Niccolò da Uzzano, the duke's offer was in the end accepted; too deeply ingrained was the profound aversion against a new entanglement which would automatically have put an end to the prosperity that appeared to be the well-earned reward of Florence's resistance to Giangaleazzo.

Having obtained a free hand in northwestern Italy, Filippo Maria immediately seized Parma and Brescia and then threw himself upon the Republic of Genoa. There were at once protests in Florence insisting that such unrestricted aggression had never been sanctioned by the Florentine promise of disinterest in the northern parts. But the government, resolved upon the preservation of peace, believed that diplomatic skill could beat Milanese diplomacy at its own game. Surprisingly, in 1421, Florence purchased the port of Leghorn, the one place of outstanding importance on the Tuscan coast that was in Genoese possession. This deal was thought to remove the threat of a Milanese foothold on Florence's seaboard in case Genoa with her dependencies should be incorporated in the new Visconti state. At the same time the money paid in the bargain would strengthen

<sup>11</sup> See the text of the "Capitula Pacis cum Duce Mediolani" in *Commissioni*, II (Florence, 1869), 232 ff., and the supplementary material referred to by François Tommy Perrens, *Histoire de Florence jusqu'à la domination des Médicis*, VI (Paris, 1883), 272 n. 5.

<sup>12</sup> "Seems to have foretold," because these arguments are attributed to Capponi by Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie fiorentine* (lib. XVIII, ao. 1420), who, as is well known, still had access to archival documents since lost, but may have reshaped Capponi's speech in the light of the subsequent events. The official minutes of the meetings held in 1420 have not been preserved.

Genoa's power to resist, while Florence lived up to the letter of her obligations and did not interfere in the affairs of northwestern Italy. But it turned out at once that diplomatic feats were in the long run of little avail against an avalanche of military might and dynamic propaganda. So well prepared was the Milanese enterprise and so effective was Milanese propaganda in persuading Genoa she would gain immense material advantages by becoming the port of the Viscontean state, that the Genoese people forced their doge, who had been the soul of the resistance and of the secret arrangements with Florence, to abdicate his office. Repeating the example of so many cities in the time of Giangaleazzo, Genoa with all her dependencies except Leghorn was included in the Visconti state by negotiation.

The annexation of Genoa had been preceded and was followed by the occupation of large parts of the Po Valley in a general movement toward the east that soon went beyond the demarcation line. When the *signore* of Forlì, a city of the Romagna lying south of the line and controlling one of the main roads across the Apennines, died in 1423, the Milanese government came forward with the claim that he had asked Filippo Maria to act as tutor for his son. Just as previously in Genoa, a revolt arose among the people in the crucial hour. Milanese troops, stationed in the neighborhood beforehand, restored order, not to leave Forlì again.

From this moment on, the sentiments known to us from the end of the Giangaleazzo period begin to tinge every word and every thought in Florence. For a short while the group which had adhered to a strict appeasement policy toward Ladislaus, and which was still led by Agnolo Pandolfini and now seconded by Giovanni de' Medici, made a last desperate attempt to prevail; but they no longer found an echo among the citizenry. It is well that the voices of the opposition have been preserved, for only against this background can the significance of the rising anti-Viscontean and republican civic temper be fully understood. The duke, Pandolfini admitted, had broken his word, but if peace was preserved, he argued, the duke might change his plans, or his expansion might have repercussions in the south Italian kingdom, the rival power. In any event Forlì did not belong to Florence; there was no reason to go to war because of what was happening in the papal Romagna. "Even if it is true that the duke occupied Forlì, he did not take it from us; also, we can defend ourselves in that direction by means of foot-soldiers."<sup>13</sup> On this last point, the majority of the Florentine citizens had begun to judge otherwise. When Giangaleazzo had oc-

<sup>13</sup> Pandolfini in the *Pratica* of Oct. 5, 1423; see *Commissioni*, I, 518 ("Et si Forlivium occupavit, non nobis abstulit . . .").



cupied Bologna and other Romagna towns, Florence had in fact not been able to "defend herself in that direction by means of foot-soldiers." The need to think in terms of peninsular interdependence, to realize that Florence's existence was of necessity bound up with the preservation of independence in other Italian regions—this was the lesson gradually learned by early Quattrocento Italy. The almost unanimous rejection of Pandolfini's arguments is proof that by the early 1420's this lesson had been assimilated by the majority of Florentine citizens.

Machiavelli, in his *Discorsi*, later judged that Filippo Maria, who had counted on the dissensions in Florence, found that war always made the Florentines united, and thus lost the fruits of his grand enterprise.<sup>14</sup> There is in fact only one mood expressed in the Florentine documents from that moment on: faith in the values of civic freedom; pride in the mission of the Florentine Commonwealth to prevent the final victory of tyranny; and a pervasive Quattrocento delight in the "greatness" of the challenge Florence was called upon to face. In the meetings during May, 1423, when the *Dieci di Balìa* were elected (the "ten men with war powers"—as we may render the Italian term—whose nomination was equivalent to the declaration of Florence's mobilization), two leaders of the group that had been foremost in the wars against Giangaleazzo and Ladislaus, Niccolò da Uzzano and Rinaldo degli Albizzi, took the floor. Up to now, said Albizzi, public opinion in Italy (*opinio Italicorum*) had been that the Florentine government would never act, whatever the developments might be. "Seeing this disposition of Florence," the duke of Milan had dared to seize Forlì, transgressing beyond the agreed demarcation line. Now that things had come to such a pass, Florence's reaction must "be great-hearted. . . . For our liberty, we must be ready to risk not only part, but all of our resources." Side by side with this call for a reversal of the character of Florentine policy, we find Niccolò da Uzzano's warning that the pattern of Milanese policies should be learned from the events of the Giangaleazzo period: "We have witnessed the procedure of the father and the forefathers of this prince. His father's policy was to acquire sway over Lombardy before moving against us. . . . The people here assembled in free consultation will save our liberty by courageous action. . . . Help has always been found in taking timely precautions"; therefore, Florence was to prepare for defense and nominate *Dieci*.<sup>15</sup>

Mobilization of Florence's resources changed into war when Filippo

<sup>14</sup> Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, II, 25.

<sup>15</sup> Rinaldo degli Albizzi, May 28, 1423; see *Commissioni*, I, 442. Niccolò da Uzzano, May 19, 1423; see *ibid.*, p. 413.

Maria seized Imola, another Romagna town, not far from Forlì, early in 1424. This time the unexpected occupation took place even while peace negotiations were going on at the duke's own bidding. Thus Filippo Maria recklessly confirmed by his deeds what Florence had long pictured to be the method of tyrants. Open war against the duke was preceded by a Florentine manifesto approved in all city-councils with overwhelming majorities. Here the Florentine view of the Italian situation was illuminated from yet another angle. "Making a show of sweetly praising peace," the manifesto proclaimed, the lord of Milan in 1420 had requested and received a settlement of the existing differences "from the Florentine people, pacific and tranquil by nature." But to him the word of peace was merely a pretext for steady expansion: the occupation of Genoa, and of Forlì, Imola, and other Romagna towns. Florence, putting her case before all Italy, was determined not to allow "the hypocrite of peace under the disguise of this word to prepare further for the greatest wars" and "in the name of peace to impose the yoke of servitude"; she was convinced now that only by force "could she procure for her people not the shadow, but the reality of peace"—a peace implying restoration of independence to the suppressed cities of the Romagna, and the re-establishment of the demarcation line of 1420.<sup>16</sup>

"The Florentine people, pacific and tranquil by nature": this passage in the manifesto throws light on one of the roots of the Florentine sentiment. As early as the time of the first encounter between the expansionist Visconti state and Florence in the mid-Trecento, Matteo Villani had observed in his chronicle that the citizens of a republic depended on prosperity and therefore on peace, while tyranny was a source of military aggression. In the same vein Salutati, in defending Florence against accusations of aggressiveness toward Giangaleazzo's Milan, emphasized that Florence's foreign politics was traditionally dictated by the "interests of trade" (*bonitate mercatoria*); and "since nothing affects commerce and trade more detrimentally than war, . . . the merchants and industrial men who have sway over the government of our Republic love peace and shrink from war."<sup>17</sup> After the crisis at the turn of the century, Gregorio Dati found a key to the past events of the Giangaleazzo period in this inherent peacefulness of a civic and commercial society. "The Florentines," he reasoned in some remarkable paragraphs of his *Istoria*, "live on peace, and profit by it as the bee profits

<sup>16</sup> *Riformazione* (resembling a declaration of war) of Mar. 6, 1424, in *Commissioni*, II, 47-49.

<sup>17</sup> Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, esp. in the *Prologo* to Lib. XI; Coluccio Salutati, *Invectiva in Antonium Luschum*, ed. Domenico Moreni (Florence, 1826), p. 182. Felix Gilbert, in his article "Machiavelli: The Renaissance of the Art of War," in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, ed. Edward M. Earle (Princeton, 1943), p. 21, also draws attention to Salutati's assertion.

by the honey of the flowers; they never resolve on war unless to gain peace." "In Florence no occasion for war appears so just and unavoidable that the people would not hurriedly turn toward any argument for peace laid before them; it seems that their nature is made for peace, and that war is something forced upon them."<sup>18</sup> This, it appeared to Dati, became evident when the Florentines, who on Giangaleazzo's death were in an easy position to occupy whatever they wished of the disintegrating Visconti state, left Giangaleazzo's north Italian possessions untouched.

They never wanted to acquire territory in Lombardy or [elsewhere] beyond the Apennines; for they are content to live within their boundaries and thus enjoy greater security and quietude than they could by having possessions farther away. And they have waged the past war . . . only to the point where they could be sure that they would not be attacked or intimidated again. When they saw that this goal had been attained, they recalled their troops to Tuscany and let the flames ablaze in Lombardy do their work by themselves.<sup>19</sup>

These convictions came to the fore when Filippo Maria's bid for supremacy made Florence painfully aware what opportunity had been missed after Giangaleazzo's death. In the summer of 1423 one of the leading minds in the anti-Viscontean coalition then being formed, Nanni degli Strozzi, a Ferrarese general of Florentine extraction, "demonstrated" during the negotiations (according to an eyewitness) "that we ourselves had caused the greatness of the duke, first by recalling our troops from Milan after the death of the old duke, instead of taking Milan; and, secondly, by concluding peace with Filippo Maria" (that is, through the demarcation treaty of 1420).<sup>20</sup> A few months later, these arguments were echoed in the official correspondence and the diplomatic instructions of the Florentine government. After Giangaleazzo's death, we read, Florence permitted the rule of the dukes of Milan to continue undisturbed, although at that time "it would have been very easy, completely to extirpate and annihilate their house." Despite the many acts of aggression of the preceding dukes, Florence was content with seeing them no longer threaten her own liberty. She did not hesitate to pledge her permanent disinterestedness in northern Italy; "she never listened to [the calls for help from] Cremona, Crema, Brescia, and Parma which, had Florence shown any interest in their favor, would not have been reduced to their present state."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Dati, *L'istoria di Firenze*, pp. 41, 55.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>20</sup> According to the accurate report in the *Diario di Palla (di Noferi) Strozzi*, published in *Archivio storico italiano*, 4th ser., XI (1883), see esp. pp. 32 f. Palla Strozzi was on the board of the *Dieci* and, consequently, a firsthand witness.

<sup>21</sup> See the instruction for Florentine envoys to Pope Martin V, July 11, 1425, in *Commissioni*, II, 328-33, and *Diario di Palla Strozzi*, p. 306.

But just because there was a good deal of truth in the contention that republican commercial Florence had been intent on peace once Giangaleazzo was dead and Pisa conquered, the Florentine Republic was poorly prepared for the war, and the immediate military result of her determined response was a series of crushing defeats on the battlefield. In July, 1424, the Florentine forces sent to the Romagna to liberate Forlì were annihilated in the battle of Zagonara; the foreign *condottiere* in command of the Florentine troops changed sides and went into the service of the duke of Milan. In the next year, when Florence had made supreme efforts to extricate herself from the grave perils following this defeat by building up a strong army under the leadership of the best-known *condottieri* of Italy, these troops, too, were so completely destroyed (at Valdilamone, in February, 1425) that of the four *condottieri* who had led the Florentine mercenaries one remained dead on the battlefield, while the three others fell into Milanese captivity.

These events produced one of those crises typical of the life of republics at moments when unexpected defeat suddenly reveals a state of unpreparedness in men's minds as well as in their material resources. As Giovanni Cavalcanti, a discontented and hate-inspired but keen-eyed contemporary, tells us: At the news of the disaster at Zagonara, "fear was general, and the citizens showed themselves deeply dismayed"; those excluded from active participation in the public offices (like Cavalcanti himself) began to assert openly that the catastrophe had come about because the men in power had wanted war, and now the Republic was paying the price. "Inside the *cerchio del reggimento* one opposed the other."<sup>22</sup> Of these dissensions, indications have come down to us in some political poems circulated at that moment. In one of them the question is asked whether all the foresight with which the Florentines of the past managed to set bounds to aggressive power had passed out of existence; whether avarice and envy were to conceal the Florentine resources in the hour of need. Where discord springs from the unwillingness of the citizens to make the necessary material sacrifices, no doctor of Paris or Bologna will by his art save liberty. "You want to be the leaders . . . of Italy? It would be nearer to truth to call you usurers and traitors." Do not attempt to delude yourselves! From the beginning the tyrant-house of the Visconti has been Florence's fierce and mortal enemy. "Still we are Florentines, free Tuscans, Italy's image and light. Let there rise again that rightful scorn which always in the past emerged among us when the time was ripe; do not wait any longer! For in procrastination lies the

<sup>22</sup> Giovanni Cavalcanti, *Istorie fiorentine*, lib. II, cap. xxi.

real danger. . . . To repent when the time has passed will be of no help.”<sup>23</sup>

Through the eyes of the people on the *piazza* we are here looking at the crucial problem: by believing in prosperity and peace, Florence had forfeited her political security, and immense economic sacrifices were required in the attempt to redress the balance. The documents and minutes of the councils of the Republic prove that inside the Palazzo della Signoria there was the same stiffening of patriotic feeling. The mutual accusations within the ruling group, reproachfully mentioned in Cavalcanti's account, were rapidly replaced by a new agreement and a straightforward trend in Florence's foreign policy. There is no trace in the public documents of any substantial faction still advocating acquiescence in the *fait accompli* created by Filippo Maria in the Romagna. The Florentine merchants and industrialists began to grow reconciled to the need for unusual expenses; every advice and vote in the councils was for holding out, while plans were being put forward which were to give rise to the institution of the *catasto* in 1427, a more modern and more equalized system of taxation of movable as well as landed wealth than had ever before existed anywhere in medieval Europe. It is true that this system disappointed the great hopes originally placed upon it, that in the course of the next few decades it developed into an oppressive instrument of arbitrary confiscation, and that the financial provisions for the new war proved in the long run to be a crushing burden that undermined unity in the ruling circle and indirectly helped to pave the way for the rise of the Medicean principate. But these were later developments, which to a large extent were caused by the general decay characteristic of the finances of most Italian states in the course of the fifteenth century;<sup>24</sup> they must not make us misjudge the immediate response of the citizens to the renewed political crisis.

On the arrival of the news of the rout at Zagonara a *consulta* was called (a meeting of citizens invited from among the supporters of the regime, former incumbents of the leading positions, and representatives of the various branches of government), and the many councilors' opinions preserved in the minutes reveal the reaction of the circle which determined Florence's stand.<sup>25</sup> At the beginning of the gathering the chord which was to sound

<sup>23</sup> From the “Rimolatio per lo quale conforta Firenze dopo la rotta di Zagonara” by Messer Antonio di Matteo di Meglio (called Antonio di Palagio), published in *Commissioni*, II, 75–80.

<sup>24</sup> According to the figures of a statistical document preserved in Sanudo the Younger's *Vite dei Dogi* (see n. 28 below), the revenue of Florence and Bologna was halved and that of Venice diminished by one third during the thirty years from the early 1420's to the early 1450's. See the comment by Corrado Barbagallo in his *Storia universale*, III, part 2 (Turin, 1935), pp. 1103 f.

<sup>25</sup> See the extracts from the minutes of the *Consulta* on August 3, 1424 (preserved in the *Consulte e Pratiche* in the Florentine Archives) in *Commissioni*, II, 145–49.

throughout the session was struck by one of the leading statesmen of the Giangaleazzo period, the aged Rinaldo de' Gianfigliuzzi: "Liberty is more useful than anything else, there is nothing that must not be risked for its salvation"; "the dukes of Milan have always been enemies, and always tried to reduce us to submission"; "we must not be frightened by the set-back, but must be ready to stake our lives on our salvation."<sup>26</sup> From then on each successive speaker offered variations on the theme that a commonwealth, just as an individual, proves its worth in adversity and must not swerve from its appointed goal: "It is in adversity that men who want to lead a free life are put to the test; in times of good fortune everybody can behave properly"; "the greater the danger, the greater must be the provision for it. And liberty is to be valued higher than life. . . . The spirit cannot be broken unless one wills it so."

Within this great uniformity of feeling there was room for individual shades of opinion. Since the Machiavelli family, soon afterwards, had a member (Girolamo) who under Cosimo de' Medici became a martyr for his republican convictions, we may perhaps think of family tradition when in 1424 we find a Francesco Machiavelli dwelling upon some of the ideas that were to become the favorites of Niccolò three generations later: the condemnation of tyranny as destructive of civic virtue, and the exaltation of the citizen who serves with his own person in the defense of the commonwealth. As the Machiavelli of the time of Filippo Maria Visconti argues: "The enjoyment of freedom makes cities and citizens great; this is well known. But places under tyranny become deserted by their citizens. For tyrants fear the *virtus* of good citizens and engage in their extermination." While many more mercenary troops are needed, Francesco Machiavelli goes on to say, there is also need of "raising citizens who are qualified to take their place in the *castella*" in the Florentine territory.

There is something rhetorical in many of these protestations on the public platform; but that does not mean they have an air of unreality. For our taste, a touch of ostentation pervades everything bred in the atmosphere of the humanistic Renaissance, and this trait of the Quattrocento comes doubly to the fore in the democratic enjoyment of oration in Florence. But after this has been said, a deep impression remains of the vigor of the public spirit in Florence on the eve of the second period of her wars against the Visconti.

We cannot here discuss the later course of the Florentine-Milanese struggle. On the surface, the difference between those years and the time of

<sup>26</sup> These are reliable passages from the minutes. The fuller and rhetorically more impressive text as given by Cavalcanti, *Istorie fiorentine*, lib. II, cap. xxiii, must not be used since Cavalcanti evidently phrased the speech as he thought fit to serve in *maiorē gloriam* of Gianfigliuzzi.



Giangaleazzo is considerable. That Florence, after the defeats of 1424 and 1425, was not overrun by the Milanese armies was due to the intervention of Venice. This intervention, however, was not a chance event. It was the crowning success of the policy Florence had pursued from the 1390's onward: the program designed to build an alliance among the *populi liberi* on the peninsula. The psychological situation, therefore, remained essentially unchanged. Though Florence was no longer the protagonist of 1402 but merely a member of a coalition, still the antagonism between "liberty" and "tyranny" continued to determine the political climate.

### III

Venice's long unwillingness to be drawn into the war against Milan had been caused partly by economic considerations. The guiding objective of Venice's Italian policy had been to maintain control of the roads and Alpine passes on which Venetian commerce moved to Germany, Austria, and Hungary.<sup>27</sup> Once Venice had found that this immediate economic interest was being respected by Milan, she had held it permissible to leave a free hand to Viscontean expansion, provided Milan's accessions were made in a southerly direction across the Apennines—the purport, as we know, of the Truce of Pavia (in 1398) and the Peace of Venice (in 1400). When, as a consequence, Florence was almost submerged by the Viscontean tide, Venice hardly moved.

After the dissolution of the Visconti empire following Giangaleazzo's death, the ultimate aim of isolation remained unchanged, although it was now pursued in combination with a policy of building up a *terra ferma* state in the Venetian region. In order to forestall the dangers from the power vacuum left by Giangaleazzo's death (dangers looming largest from the buffer-state of the Carrara in Padua, restored in 1390 and in 1404 made to incorporate conquered Verona, which might easily have developed into a new tyrannical threat on Venice's doorstep), the Republic of St. Mark between 1405 and 1421 fused the entire bulk of the neighboring territories into a solid region-state—including to the west Padua, Vicenza, Verona, and the roads leading to the Brenner, and to the northeast the disintegrating old German March of Friuli with the Alpine passes leading to Austria and Hungary. Once this strong barricade against all mainland dangers had been raised, the statesmen of the old Venetian school were ready to allow Filippo Maria to renew that policy the crowning of which had been denied to Giangaleazzo by fate.

<sup>27</sup> See the description of this policy in the most recent history of Venice, Roberto Cessi's *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, I (Milan, 1944), 338–43.

Seen from a regional and solely economic angle, the possible triumph of the Visconti even seemed to promise some advantages which would not issue from a Florentine victory. We are in a position to reconstruct Venetian reasoning on this point, thanks to the preservation of a number of speeches delivered in the years 1422 and 1423 by the old doge Tommaso Mocenigo, one of the leaders in the creation of the *terra ferma* state. The gist of Mocenigo's argument, when it is cleansed from the many furiously anti-Florentine insertions made by a later forger, appears as a well-pondered program of purely economic expediency. A vital part of the Venetian trade, he said, was carried on with the Visconti state; the Milanese territories in turn furnished most of the agricultural produce needed for Venice's sustenance, and were among the indispensable buyers of Venetian goods. To allow this "garden of Venice" to be devastated by the fury of war, or even to harm it by Venetian arms, was folly. Also, any advance of the western frontier of the Venetian territory from the hilly Veronese region to the flatter western parts would necessitate a larger standing army and, consequently, lead to a permanent drain on Venetian finances. On the other hand, subjection of the Florentine Republic to the Viscontean empire would not be an evil altogether. After the loss of their independence, numerous Florentine merchants, accustomed to the way of life in a republic, might emigrate to Venice and transplant Florence's woolen and silk manufacture there, just as a number of Lucchese merchants had done on a similar occasion. Venice was now master of the gold in the Christian world, respected and feared everywhere. Her future prosperity depended on remaining at peace.<sup>28</sup>

But while Mocenigo thus argued, lively discussion was already going on about the program of a younger school of Venetian statesmanship which advocated a complete reversal of the policy pursued during the last thirty or forty years. Their thesis was that if Florence should lose her independence, Venice would find herself deprived of a vital ally. Mocenigo pointed to the young Procuratore di San Marco, Francesco Foscari, as the leader of this new interventionist group; the speech of the old doge was a passionate warning against the younger man. But only one year later Foscari was Mocenigo's elected successor to the office of doge.

<sup>28</sup> From Tommaso Mocenigo's second and third speech, preserved in Sanudo's *Vite dei Dogi* (in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XXII, col. 949-58 and 958-60). The alleged three speeches are usually assumed to have been delivered in January, 1421, July, 1421, and early in 1423. But the first speech is a forgery in its entirety (probably made between September, 1433, and August, 1434), the second in its genuine parts can safely be placed in the second half of 1422, and the third falls into March/April, 1423, since it was made by Mocenigo on his deathbed. The passages referred to above are from sections which prove to be authentic in a critical examination of the text. See this writer's "The Anti-Florentine Discourses of the Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1414-23): Their Date and Partial Forgery," *Speculum*, XXVII (1952), 323-42.

What so suddenly dislodged faith in the economically conclusive calculations of the older generation? Recent scholarship with its belief in the prevalence of economic factors has been inclined to attribute the cause of the change to a shift in Venice's economic interests after the acquisition of her *terra ferma* state. Since in the east (it is argued) the Turkish threat was likely to discourage further trading ventures, men of the younger generation "preferred to build up a securely anchored wealth and acquire large landed property in the *terra ferma* state"; in order to protect these new investments, they endeavored "to drag the Republic toward the west" into an alliance with Florence, and finally into the war against Milan.<sup>29</sup> These inferences might have some plausibility if the older generation had refrained from creating a *terra ferma* state; in fact, however, Mocenigo and his predecessor had been its architects. It would be absurd to think that these older statesmen had been ready to leave their new territorial acquisitions in a condition of imperfect defense, and possibly a prey to Milan. The question on which the two generations parted company was not whether Venice's new territorial state was worth the defense, but whether this defense demanded preservation of Florentine independence as a prerequisite. What Mocenigo refused to believe was that the fate of the one republic was bound up with that of the other.

The Venetians of the time of Giangaleazzo, and those of the decades immediately following, had looked upon the fortunes of Florence with indifference. "Florence is not the port of Venice, neither for overland nor for water traffic," Mocenigo argued as late as 1422; "our roads of transit are in the Veronese territory. It is the duke of Milan who has common borders with us, and it is he with whom we must maintain good relations. . . . Genoa could harm us, for she is powerful on the seas and is controlled by the duke. These are the powers with which we must be on a friendly footing." On the other hand, Foscari's opinion, so vehemently repudiated by the old doge, climaxed in the verdict that the Venetians ought to come to the rescue of the Florentines "because their weal is also our weal, and, by the same token, harm to them is harm to us."<sup>30</sup> There is more behind this intonation and

<sup>29</sup> See Barbagallo's summary of these views, *op. cit.*, pp. 1093 f. Even more recently, some Italian scholars have begun to reverse this trend by acknowledging the decisive role of political motivations in the Venetian turnabout. Cf. the appropriate characterization in Cessi's *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, I, 370 f.: Whereas Mocenigo "had not given up the traditional prejudice of the policy of isolation," the younger generation "embraced the principle of the liberty and the peace of Italy," which were "endangered by the expansion of the Visconti. . . . A higher necessity for equilibrium, and not a preconceived thirst for adventure as Mocenigo had insinuated, drove the Venetian government into the Italian conflicts." See also Nino Valeri in his *L'Italia nell'età dei Principati* (1950), pp. 425 f.

<sup>30</sup> Thus characterized by Mocenigo in his speech of 1422; in Sanudo, *op. cit.*, col. 949 ("Ser Francesco Foscari . . . ha detto . . . ch'egli è buono lo soccorrere a' Fiorentini, a cagione che il loro bene è il nostro, e per conseguente il loro male è il nostro").

new outlook than merely a shift in the estimate of political or economic expediency. The cause of the departure of the younger men from the maxims of their elders was the triumph in Venice of the same ideal of *libertas Italiae* which had first been hammered out in Florence under the impact of the struggle with Giangaleazzo. A fraternal feeling and a kindred political outlook were developing in the two great sister republics.

Public and private documents bear witness to this historic change in the climate of opinion in both Venice and Florence. For instance, when toward the end of 1425 a Florentine envoy, Lorenzo de' Ridolfi, arrived in Venice on the mission which was to result in a formal league, he immediately reported home (quoting almost literally the words to which Mocenigo had objected in Foscari's program a few years earlier) that the interviews with the leading Venetian statesmen had convinced him that "they have, and will have, the same regard for the preservation of your sovereignty [*alla conservazione del vostro stato*] as for that of their own." Everywhere in Venice it was now recognized, Ridolfi reported, that future peace in Italy was bound up with the survival of the *libertà* of Florence.<sup>31</sup> The pact concluded with the envoys was itself different in design from the many *pro tempore* combinations which had given a kaleidoscopic character to the Venetian diplomacy of the preceding decades. The new alliance was to last ten years even if peace with Milan should be reached sooner; otherwise it was to continue until the Milanese threat had disappeared.<sup>32</sup>

With the emergence of this confederation the Quattrocento stage was definitely set in accordance with the pattern envisioned by Florentine citizens in the days of Giangaleazzo Visconti. Almost immediately humanistic imagination began to play upon that historic scene when the envoy from one of the two great Italian republics appeared before the Roman-like senate of the other with the solemn charge that tyranny after destroying freedom at home is bound to destroy the freedom of its neighbors, a charge echoed in the reply of the doge that there exists an eternal conflict between tyrannies and free peoples, and that Venice must not allow Florence, "the other leader [*caput*] of freedom in Italy," to perish. The most striking feature of this symbolic interpretation of the event of 1425 is that it is first found in the work of a contemporary humanistic chronicler of Milan, Andrea de' Biglia. Even a man like Biglia, son of a noble Milanese family, would, being a humanist, see the conflict as a contest between republican liberty and tyranny; all he was able to do in defense of the Milanese cause was to weaken the

<sup>31</sup> Ridolfi's letters of Aug. 14, and Sept. 19, 1425, published in *Commissioni*, II, 375 f. and 402 f.

<sup>32</sup> See the text of the pact, *ibid.*, pp. 541-51.

impressiveness of that antithesis by adding another imaginary speech by a Milanese envoy, pointing out that the Florentine Commonwealth had not always kept exemplary relations with its neighbors, whereas the Roman Republic had found it possible to live on friendly terms with foreign princes.<sup>33</sup> Two generations later, at the end of the Quattrocento, this picture from early Renaissance history—the speech of the Florentine ambassador, “the envoy of a free commonwealth, come to request aid and help for liberty from a free people”; the counter-speech of the Milanese envoy; and the plea for the protection of Florentine liberty by the doge—was still alive, and was included in the official humanistic history of the Republic of St. Mark commissioned by the Venetian senate: Sabellico’s *Rerum Venetarum Decades*.<sup>34</sup>

We have sufficient evidence to state that by the middle of the 1420’s the hope for permanent co-operation between the “free peoples” of Italy became an inspiring political ideal among Venetian as well as Florentine humanists. In Venice, the chief proponent of this program was Francesco Barbaro, one of the ranking statesmen and the chief promoter of Venetian civic humanism during the 1420’s, 1430’s, and 1440’s. To Barbaro the term *libertas Italiae*, which in those decades became an ever-present political watchword, had a twofold meaning: preservation of a system of independent states on the peninsula, and confederation of the surviving republics for the sake of civic freedom.<sup>35</sup> In 1426, when the Florentine-Venetian league had at last become a reality, Barbaro told Lorenzo de’ Medici, Cosimo’s brother, that this alliance had laid “a foundation for the protection of *libertas*” and had checked Filippo Maria’s design to make himself lord of Italy. In later years he prided himself that by his military performance in the war he had deserved well not only of Venice, his *patria*, but of all *liberi Italiae populi*.<sup>36</sup>

After Genoa’s liberation from Milanese dominance in 1436, there was for

<sup>33</sup> Andrea Biglia, *Historia Mediolanensis*, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XIX, col. 78–85. To be precise it should be said that Biglia added a further (fourth) speech by the *condottiere* Carmagnola (col. 82–83), to have one speaker characterize the military aspects of the presumable campaign if Venice joined the struggle; but this speech has no bearing on our subject. Biglia lived through the war and died in 1435 (not 1432 as the recent biography of *Cosimo de’ Medici, Pater Patriae, 1389–1464* by Kurt Sigmar Gutkind [Oxford, 1938], pp. 69 f., contends, with disastrous consequences for the appraisal of Biglia’s work as a historical source); see F. Novati’s note on the year of Biglia’s death in *Archivio storico lombardo*, 4th ser., VII (1907), 221 f.

<sup>34</sup> Marcantonio Sabellico, *Rerum Venetarum Decades*, Dec. II, lib. 9.

<sup>35</sup> The concept of *libertas Italiae* as the gist of Barbaro’s thought and politics is aptly described in Natale Carotti’s paper “Un politico umanista del Quattrocento: Francesco Barbaro” (*Rivista storica italiana*, 5th ser., II [1937], esp. pp. 20 ff.), a refutation of earlier attempts (in particular in P. Gothein’s monograph on Barbaro) to find modern ideals of national unification in Barbaro’s writings.

<sup>36</sup> *Francisci Barbari et aliorum ad ipsum epistolae 1425–1453*, ed. A. M. Querini (Brescia, 1743), letters no. 2 and 81; Remigo Sabbadini *Centotrenta lettere inedite di Francesco Barbaro* (Salerno, 1884), pp. 17, 35 f.

some time a common policy against the Visconti monarchy among four of the surviving republics: Florence, Venice, Genoa, and Siena. Barbaro then began to talk in his letters of "the free peoples federated in equality."<sup>37</sup> A parallel to this attitude of the Venetian statesman is found in the Florentine merchant-statesman Giannozzo Manetti, who, after Genoa's deliverance from Filippo Maria, in the days of the Florentine-Venetian-Genoese league, composed a humanistic history of Genoa in which the Genoese were presented as modern Romans, their victories as triumphs in the interest of *libertas* in Italy, and a confederation between the three republics as the natural road into the future.<sup>38</sup> Even as late as about 1460 the Florentine chancellor, Benedetto Accolti, defending the "moderns" in his *Dialogue on the Pre-eminence of the Men of His Age* against the classicists' scorn, listed among the reasons for modern Italy's equal claims the emergence of city-republics that were the peers of ancient Athens, Sparta, and Rome—and especially the fact that Florence, Venice, and Siena had preserved their independence to the present day.<sup>39</sup>

The high-water mark of this republican sentiment was reached in the 1440's when Milan, after Filippo Maria had died without issue in 1447, made an attempt to revive her pre-Viscontean past by proclaiming a *Respublica Ambrosiana*. At the news of the revolution in Milan, the Venetian government hastened to send an envoy who was to declare that Venice, unyielding though she had been in the struggle against the dead destroyer of liberty, was ready to enter into friendship and alliance with a Milanese republic.<sup>40</sup> This was the height, but also the turn of the tide that had begun when the Milanese bid for Italian monarchy had first been met by the Florentine bid for the preservation of the heritage of the free Italian commune. Now the long struggle which had opened with the fight for Tuscan independence was to find its conclusion in northern Italy.

In 1447, as at the end of 1402, the vast complex of territories fused by the Visconti quickly fell apart, producing a vacuum in the newly formed system of Italian states—a situation fraught with hardly lesser dangers than the preceding accumulation of Viscontean might. The ultimate decision about the form of the new balance devolved upon Venice.

<sup>37</sup> *Epistolae*, ed. Querini, no. 20.

<sup>38</sup> "Laudatio Ianuensium ad illustrissimum principem dominum Thomam de Campo Fregoso Ianue ducem," unpublished; the most authoritative manuscript is "Cod. Vaticanus Palat. lat. 1605" with corrections presumably from Manetti's hand.

<sup>39</sup> Benedetto Accolti, "Dialogus de praestantia virorum sui aevi," published in *Philippi Villani Liber de civitatibus Florentiae famosis civibus . . . et de Florentinorum litteratura principes fere synchroni scriptores*, ed. Gustavo Cammillo Galletti (Florence, 1847), pp. 116–20.

<sup>40</sup> Samuele Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, IV (Venice, 1855), 213 f.



IV

On receiving the news of Filippo Maria's death and the foundation of a Milanese republic, Francesco Barbaro sent a solemn warning to a leading member of the Venetian government.<sup>41</sup> A turning point, he said, had been reached in Venetian politics. The alternative now was "either to enlarge our dominion, or to augment common liberty and save the peace of Italy." Many people in Venice would clamor for expansion beyond the Milanese border. However, Venice's mission was

to *associate* the energies of northern Italy through our authority on a basis of equity, and not to *dissociate* the country by force of arms. . . . Not for the sake of domination have we undertaken this war, but to repel force by force and to provide for peace. . . . We have called the people of Milan, like others, to liberty, and we have talked in these glorious terms not because we expected to have everything subjected to our power, but to take sides as free men for the freedom of others.<sup>42</sup>

The present situation was explosive, Barbaro went on. With the death of the last Visconti, the Florentine-Venetian alliance, after having worked for more than twenty years, had reached its goal and, consequently, come to its logical end. Any annexation of Milanese territory by Venice would increase the Venetian power above that of Florence and implicitly destroy the possibility of further co-operation. Or again, "if the suspicion should arise that we desire to lay down the law to our allies and neighbors" (for instance in the case of the less powerful people of Genoa), all of them would turn against us and resist. There was only one way open to Venice: not to violate the possessions of the now free people of Milan and to accept them into the alliance.

We must try to reach a lasting peace instead of a victory that cannot last long. We must prefer the glory of saving common liberty to the danger, now looming large, of civil and other wars. We must get along with our allies, with our enemies, with everybody, showing so much moderation that we shall long be able to glory in the championship of Italian liberty, instead of being looked upon, after a short while, as those who, bent on change, were responsible for wars and the rule of violence.<sup>43</sup>

This was the valedictory word to the period which had saved what in the Quattrocento was called the *libertas Italiae*. That it meant an end to a period

<sup>41</sup> Addressed to Federico Contarini. Sabbadini, *Centotrenta lettere inedite*, no. 129.

<sup>42</sup> "*Mediolanenses quoque in libertatem vocavimus et gloriosum hunc titulum praevidimus, non ut omnia subiecta nostro imperio sint, sed ut nos liberi etiam aliorum libertatis causam ageremus.*"

<sup>43</sup> The "*summa conclusionis*" was "*ut pacem diuturnam quam victoriam non diu duraturam, et communis libertatis gloriam quam praesens domesticorum ac externorum bellorum periculum malimus et ita moderate cum sociis, cum hostibus, cum omnibus denique vivamus, ut diu principes libertatis Italiae, potius quam brevi tempore cupidi rerum novarum, auctores bellorum ac violenti domini esse et haberi gloriamur.*"

and not a beginning of further progress in the old direction was due not merely to the failure of the Venetian government to follow the wisdom which, as Barbaro's memorandum proves, was accessible to those who had lived with an open mind through the experiences and had shared the ideals of the first half of the Quattrocento. The ultimate obstacle to Barbaro's program was that Milan, which had not known freedom for almost a century and a half but had seen success and strength under tyranny, was not the soil in which a new, vigorous republic could take root. In the midst of growing disunity and disorder, some of the subjected communes in the Milanese territory began to break away; towns in the immediate neighborhood, like Lodi and Piacenza, were ready to put themselves under Venetian rule, preferring the control of the faraway city on the lagoon to that of the nearby provincial metropolis. Venice yielded to the temptation of their offers, and the brief psychological moment for a republican league with the *Respublica Ambrosiana* as a member had passed. Confronted with the prospect that Venice might gain a lasting foothold in the heart of the Milanese plain, the Ambrosian Republic preferred to rely on her leading *condottiere*, Francesco Sforza. When he succeeded in reconquering Piacenza for Milan and inflicting two crushing defeats on the Venetian troops, Venice made the most daring gamble of her *divide et impera* policy by suddenly concluding an alliance with the victorious general and encouraging him to conquer for himself a princedom cut out of the Milanese territories; the old Viscontean state was in danger of being cut up into a weak republic and a weak tyranny hostile to each other and both playing into the hands of Venetian imperialism.

It was this prospect of a *Pax Venetiana* replacing the dreaded *Pax Mediolanensis* that dissolved the Venetian-Florentine alliance spiritually as well as in the field of political co-operation. The attempt Venice was making coolly to balance the scattered fragments of the former Visconti state against each other was taken up by Florence on a grander scale and applied to Italy as a whole. After the events which Barbaro had foreseen had happened, Cosimo de' Medici, in the masterstroke of his diplomatic career, broke down the long political tradition of the early Renaissance. He caused Florence to decide in favor of Sforza by supporting him, first through neutrality and later by an outright alliance which in turn enabled the *condottiere* to conquer Milan, put an end to the city's new-fangled republican liberty, and build up an integrated principality as a counterpoise to Venice—a tamer successor of the tyranny of the Visconti.

From 1451 on, public peace and the balance of power in Italy depended on two opposing coalitions: the Florentine Republic in alliance with the new

Milanese tyranny on the one side, and the Venetian Republic with the Kingdom of Naples on the other. Finally, in 1454 and 1455 both alliances gradually merged in one "*Santissima Lega*" which included the Papal State as its fifth strong partner, while the remaining smaller states—among them the republics of Siena, Lucca, and Bologna (the last under the principate of a local *signore*), and a number of second-rank principalities, especially the dominions of the Este and the Gonzaga—grouped themselves around these five major powers. This "Holy Alliance" of Renaissance Italy, by preserving the independence of the states which had survived, realized at least a part, and an essential one, of the program of *libertas Italiae* which had emerged from the resistance against Giangaleazzo; and although it did not guarantee absolute peace or prevent occasional minor wars, it did give the peninsula a period of consolidation and comparative quiet which lasted until, at the end of the century, the West European powers invaded Italy.

In Florence, during the late 1440's, all the authority and resourcefulness of Cosimo de' Medici had been needed to convert the citizenry to this policy of separation from their sister republic, Venice.<sup>44</sup> Leonardo Bruni was then already in his grave; but Giannozzo Manetti, who in the 1430's had advocated the idea of a republican alliance among Florence, Venice, and Genoa, became a victim of the changing conditions. He was one of those who could not easily resign themselves to the breakup of what so long had been tradition in Florence's foreign policy. As an ambassador to Venice in 1448, and on later occasions, he tried to work for a rapprochement between the two republics, but his efforts were counteracted by Cosimo, and there can be no doubt that his repeated show of sympathy for Venice played a substantial part in his later economic destruction and exile by the ruling party.<sup>45</sup>

The course of events—Sforza's success and the development of Venice into the most aggressive power in Italy—eventually silenced such opposition. As early as 1451-52 we find the Florentines complaining in diplomatic negotiations that Venice had forgotten the "ancient friendship" and "so many

<sup>44</sup>For this role of Cosimo, attested by the day-by-day reports of the Milanese envoy, Nicodemo da Pontremoli, see Perrens, *Histoire de Florence depuis la domination des Médicis*, I (1888), 120 ff., 130 ff.

<sup>45</sup>We know this fact from Naldo Naldi's *Vita Jannotti Manetti* (in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XX, col. 519-608), which, even more than Vespasiano da Bisticci's *Commentario della vita di Messer Giannozzo Manetti*, points out Manetti's republican opposition to Cosimo de' Medici and the fact that this opposition and Manetti's eventual fate had much to do with his disagreement from Cosimo's policy of co-operation with Francesco Sforza against Venice. See esp. col. 568-69, 576-79, 604-605. For other information on the opposition of Florentine citizens to the shift in the Florentine alliance system see Francesco Carlo Pellegrini in *Archivio storico italiano*, 1899, 5th ser., XXIV, 117-19, and K. Dorothea Vernon in *English Historical Review*, XV (1900), 322-23; also the testimony by Benedetto Accolti quoted in note 46.

years of alliance" and common exertions; that she had decided upon "dividing Italy" between the Venetian Republic and the Kingdom of Naples. Venice is accused of an "inordinate appetite" and the intention "to occupy Lombardy and in due course gain the *imperio d'Italia*"; with the roles of the actors exchanged, it is now the Venetian government which is said to have found out that Florence was the potential obstacle to expansionist designs in Italy. From that time on, the general opinion in Florence began to be that, if Cosimo had not prevented the Venetians from dominating northern Italy after Filippo Maria's death, "they would subsequently have become rulers over all peoples in Italy."<sup>46</sup> The erection of a dam, by Cosimo, against Venetian imperialism appeared as the logical continuation of Florence's previous resistance to the expansion of the monarchies of northern and southern Italy; the memory of the great struggles of the early Quattrocento began to fuse with the conviction that Cosimo de' Medici had been the founding father of the *libertas Italiae*. In an anti-Venetian pamphlet of the 1470's we read: When about 1400 "the Visconti possessed all Tuscany, Genoa, Siena, Pisa, Bologna, Lucca, the Romagna, and three quarters of Lombardy, . . . the duke of Milan would surely have made himself king of the Italians" but for Cosimo's "aid, prudence, and treasure"; when Ladislaus of Naples had subjected Rome, and finally had taken Cortona in Tuscany, he would have been bound to become "king of Italy" but for the Florentine opposition under Cosimo's leadership; and "when the *signoria* of Venice seized the cities of the Milanese territory, she would have made herself queen of Italy" had Cosimo not reversed the course of Florence's policy.<sup>47</sup> One generation later,

<sup>46</sup> See the instructions for the Florentine envoys to the pope, June, 1451, in Angelo Fabroni, *Magni Cosmi Medicei Vita*, II (Pisa, 1788), 199 f.; to Charles VII, Sept. 10, 1451, in *Negotiations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*, ed. Abel Desjardins, I (Paris, 1859), 62 ff. ("essendo l'animo de' Veneziani di occupare Lombardia, e, col tempo, lo imperio d'Italia; e veggendo in gran parte a tal proposito la nostra Città potere ovviare . . ."); to Charles VII, Sept. 28, 1452, in Fabroni, pp. 200 ff. The last passage quoted is from Benedetto Accolti ("Dialogus," *op. cit.*, p. 119), who as an eyewitness judges that "*solus Cosma*" was the architect of the alliance with Francesco Sforza against Venice, whereas "*magna pars Florentini populi*" opposed it.

<sup>47</sup> From the "Lettera mandata a Vinitiani" by Benedetto Dei, published in Giovanni Francesco Pagnini's *Della Decima e delle altre gravanze . . . de' Fiorentini*, II (Lisbon and Lucca, 1765), pp. 235-45. See esp. the passages on pp. 236-38: Cosimo had been "*chagione . . . che la bella . . . Italia non sia venuta a mano e di Catelani e d'Alamanni e di Franzesi, dall'anno 1400 in quà. . . Non vi richordegli de Vischonti di Milano, avevano tutta Toschana e Gienova, e Siena, e Pisa, e Bologna, e Lucha, e la Romagna, e 3/4 di Lombardia, come pel mezzo e senno e tesoro Chosimo de Medici sostenne tal furia, che cierto el Duca si faceva Re de Taliani.*" Also to remember "*che fè lo Re Lanzalao . . . pigliando Roma, e sottomisela sotto di se, e prese la Città di Chortona, e come Chosimo de Medici fu . . . chagione . . . della sua rovina. . . Certo . . . se i Fiorentini non s'opponevano a tanto empito, lo Re Lanzalao si faceva Re d'Italia . . . , perchè sendo Sig. di Roma, e avendo gran parte in Toschana, gliera una facilissima . . . cosa.*" Again, "*affermano che se la Signoria di Vinegia pigliava la Città del Duchato di Milano, ella si faceva Regina d'Italia.*" Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo xv*, also praises Cosimo on this score repeatedly. The picture may be rounded out by the observation that the three principal representatives of the traditions of civic humanism under the Medicean

the creation of a balance against Venice still appeared as the inevitable culmination of the Florentine road toward *libertas Italiae* to Guicciardini, who in his *Storie fiorentine* as well as in his *Dialogo del Reggimento di Firenze* maintained that Venice, if she had put herself in possession of the Milanese state after 1447, would quickly have become the ruler of all Italy; and that Cosimo de' Medici, accordingly, had saved "the liberty of Florence and of all Italy."<sup>48</sup>

When early in the nineteenth century Sismondi, in his classical history of the Italian city-states, undertook to give the first modern estimate of the political changes in the mid-Quattrocento,<sup>49</sup> his verdict was that the Ambrosian Republic, which was ready "to live in peace with all," had been driven under the yoke of the Sforza by a Venetian attack staged "without provocation"; and that this interference was the event which made impossible any lasting confederation among three great Italian republics and caused the weakness of Italy which became apparent during the foreign invasions of the late Renaissance.

What we must add today to qualify Sismondi's estimate is that the Ambrosian Republic did "provoke" Venice's intervention in the sense that she was powerless to keep intact the regional state on whose preservation the equilibrium and the peace of Italy rested. It was not simply the vicious "ambition" of the Venetian doge Foscari (as Sismondi saw it), and even less that of Cosimo de' Medici (as Venetian historians continue to charge to the present day),<sup>50</sup> nor the crime of any other statesman or state, which

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principate were unanimous about Cosimo's foreign policy: Alamanno Rinuccini, in the well-known preface to his Latin translation of Plutarch's *Vitae Agis et Cleomenis*, expresses his admiration, although he attributes the merit of the practical accomplishment more to Pietro di Cosimo than to Cosimo himself. Cristoforo Landino, in his unpublished dialogue "De vera nobilitate" (in MS. 433 of the Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome) praises Cosimo's wisdom and courage because, earlier than anyone else, Cosimo foresaw the impending danger and prevented Venice from overpowering all other peoples of Italy and merging the Milanese state in the Venetian empire; "if by this so instantaneous remedy aid had not been brought to all Italy at that moment, no doubt the liberty of all Italian peoples would have been done for completely" ("*Quo quidem tam presentaneo remedio nisi tunc universae Italiae subventum esset, actum omnino de omnium populorum libertate nemo dubitabit* [MS. *dubitabat*]," fol. 2v-3r). And Donato Acciaiuoli, in his *Proemium in vitam Demetrii*, says Cosimo had saved "the liberty not only of this great republic but of all Italy, which otherwise would surely have been crushed by one single power." (See the Latin text quoted by Eugenio Garin from Acciaiuoli's autograph, in *Rinascimento*, I [1950], 45.)

<sup>48</sup> Francesco Guicciardini, *Storie fiorentine*, ed. Roberto Palmarocchi (Bari, 1931), p. 6; *Dialogo del Reggimento di Firenze*, ed. Palmarocchi (Bari, 1932), p. 62.

<sup>49</sup> Simon de' Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, IX (Paris, 1815), 270 f.

<sup>50</sup> Like Cessi (in the first volume [see n. 27 above] of his *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*), to whom it is "the evil genius of Sforza" in combination with "the expansionist Florentine policy" and Cosimo de' Medici's "diabolical astuteness" which destroyed "the noble and bold Venetian plan" of establishing peace and unification for Italy by associating the republics of Venice, Florence, and Milan (pp. 383-85). It should be noted that this latter conclusion could

prevented the period of Florentine-Venetian co-operation from ushering in an age of ever broader republican confederation. Ultimately responsible for the failure was the fact that republican Milan had committed the "crime" of being unable to muster the strength for self-defense, which is required of every major member in an equilibrium system of closely interrelated states lest there result a power vacuum inviting violent dislocations through expansionist moves of the neighbor states.

But before this fateful change of convictions and conditions in Florence and all Italy took place, the Renaissance and the humanistic movement had been growing for half a century in an atmosphere of freedom. However much or little Venice produced in the way of an indigenous civic humanism among her patricians, her contributions belong to the first half of the Quattrocento. In Florence all the new trends that had appeared at the dawn of the century then found a climate congenial to their growth, and fused all antagonistic elements in a unity of feeling and thought which from the 1420's on made the Florentine school the leading and most fully integrated group within Italian humanism.<sup>51</sup>

By the mid-Quattrocento the foundation had been laid not only for the states system of the Renaissance and the humanism of Florence but also for the political outlook and historical philosophy which were to grow to maturity in the last period of Florentine republicanism, when the principate of the Medici was again swept away. The phase in which civic sentiment and liberty had been among the molding forces of the early Renaissance had everywhere left indelible marks. Its memory must have its rightful place in the picture which historical scholarship strives to preserve of the Italy of the Renaissance.

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only be reached by omitting from the account the facts of Venice's association with Lodi and Piacenza and with Francesco Sforza—that is, the crucial events that caused the reorientation of Florentine politics.

<sup>51</sup> For details about this molding impact of the Milanese wars on Florentine humanism see this writer's essay "The Historical Background of the Florentine Renaissance," *History* (London), N.S. XXII (1938), 315-27 (in an Italian translation with supplements in *La Rinascita* [Florence], I [1938], 50-72), and his forthcoming book *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*.



## \* \* \* Notes and Suggestions \* \* \*

### The Granger Cases: 1877 or 1876?

ELWIN W. SIGMUND

ON March 1, 1877, the day before Congress declared that Rutherford B. Hayes had been duly elected President, the United States Supreme Court announced its decisions in the Granger Cases. The coincidental proximity of those memorable actions emphasizes the inaccuracy of the date assigned to the cases by the authors of several standard works and many texts in American history. Generally 1876 is given, and in a few instances October, 1876, is specified as the time of the decisions.

William T. Otto, then reporter for the Supreme Court, must be charged with the principal responsibility for the confusion because he, like four of his predecessors, failed to indicate the dates of decisions with the opinions in the *United States Reports*.<sup>1</sup> J. C. Bancroft Davis, who succeeded Otto in November, 1883, promptly remedied the deficiency in Volume 108, which covers decisions handed down chiefly in the early months of 1883—that is, during the latter part of the Court's October Term, 1882. Davis' improvement imitated, and may have been impelled by, the example of the initial volumes of the unofficial *Supreme Court Reporter*. Published in 1883, they contain in chronological order the decisions, with dates noted, for the entire term beginning in October, 1882. Possibly Davis was influenced also by the similar procedure followed in the republication of all the Supreme Court *Reports* since 1790 in the unofficial *Lawyers' Edition*, an undertaking launched in 1882 that achieved a current basis within a few years. The *Lawyers' Edition* is the only ready reference providing the dates of decisions with opinions for the period 1854–1882.<sup>2</sup>

If a comparison with the *Lawyers' Edition* is not made, the user of the *Reports* for that period is likely to be misled into reliance upon the dates in the titles and running titles. For example, the title of 94 *United States Re-*

<sup>1</sup> Dallas, Cranch, and Wheaton usually noted the dates, but Peters, Howard, Black, Wallace, and Otto did not. The period of omission extends from 1 Peters (January Term, 1828) through 107 U. S. (early part of October Term, 1882).

<sup>2</sup> In the *Lawyers' Edition* the dates are inexplicably omitted beginning with Book 4 (1 Wheaton, February Term, 1816) and are resumed with Book 15 (17 Howard, October Term, 1854). Thus for the period 1828–1854 the dates of decisions can not be determined either from the *Reports* or from the *Lawyers' Edition*.

ports, in which the Granger Cases are found, includes the phrase, "October Term, 1876"; and the running title, "Sup. Ct. Oct. 1876," is printed throughout the volume. There is no indication of the fact that the term extended into May, 1877.<sup>3</sup> These features of the *Reports* probably account for the practice, prevalent among members of the legal profession a generation or two ago, of dating decisions made during a particular term of the Court according to the year in which the term began.<sup>4</sup> This ambiguous procedure has not disappeared from legal writings,<sup>5</sup> but apparently it is being superseded by dating according to the calendar year in which the decision was announced.<sup>6</sup> The latter method should be used by historians in order to avoid such palpable distortions of chronology as would result from declaring that the Dred Scott Case was decided in 1856 because the term of the Court commenced in December of that year. For the same reason the Granger Cases should be dated 1877.

One of the earliest important works erroneously noting 1876 as the year of decision is Sparks's *National Development*, first published in 1907.<sup>7</sup> But the relation of the mistake to the misleading titles in the *Reports* can be seen most clearly in Solon J. Buck's *The Granger Movement*. At the beginning of his analysis of the justices' opinions, he says: "In the October term of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1876, decisions were handed down together in the cases of *Munn v. Illinois*. . . ."<sup>8</sup> This statement, though not precise, is true as long as the initial qualifying phrase is retained in its entirety. Unfortunately Buck elsewhere omits the qualification and remarks that the "final decision" in *Munn v. Illinois* was "rendered in 1876."<sup>9</sup> Later in *The Agrarian Crusade* he compresses the original phrase into inaccuracy as follows: "In October, 1876, decisions were handed down together in eight cases . . . which involved the validity of the Granger laws."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Beginning with 245 U. S. (October Term, 1917) the title pages carry the exact dates of the period of the decisions in each volume, e.g., "From October 1, 1917, to March 4, 1918."

<sup>4</sup>For examples of this practice in references to the Granger Cases, see James Bradley Thayer, *Cases on Constitutional Law* (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1895), II, 1975; Lucius Polk McGehee, *Due Process of Law under the Federal Constitution* (Northport, Long Island, N. Y., 1906), p. 314; Charles K. Burdick, *The Law of the American Constitution: Its Origin and Development* (New York, 1922), p. 570, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup>See Edward S. Corwin, *The Constitution and What It Means Today* (10th ed., Princeton, 1948), p. 193; Lawrence B. Evans and Charles G. Fenwick, *Cases on American Constitutional Law* (5th ed., Chicago, 1942), p. 916.

<sup>6</sup>See Noel T. Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law* (4th ed., Brooklyn, 1950), pp. 790 n., 850, n. 2; Walter F. Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law, Selected from Decisions of State and Federal Courts* (3d ed., St. Paul, 1941), p. 1002.

<sup>7</sup>Edwin Erle Sparks, *National Development, 1877-1885* (New York, 1907), pp. 62-63.

<sup>8</sup>Solon Justus Buck, *The Granger Movement: A Study of Agricultural Organization and Its Political, Economic, and Social Manifestations, 1870-1880* (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), p. 206.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>10</sup>Solon J. Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade: A Chronicle of the Farmer in Politics* (New Haven, 1920), p. 56.

The erroneous date has appeared persistently in the writings of other reputable historians during the past forty years, despite the availability of the correct information in 24 *Lawyers' Edition*, first published in 1885. A few examples spread over the period are Beard's *Contemporary American History*, Oberholtzer's *History of the United States*, the Nevins and Tarbell volumes in the "History of American Life" series, Shannon's *The Farmer's Last Frontier*, and Nye's *Midwestern Progressive Politics*.<sup>11</sup> Shannon's citations to the works by Buck discussed above suggest a partial explanation for the recurrence. The authors of many widely used general texts have multiplied the repetition of the error,<sup>12</sup> which is present also in textbooks on American economic history<sup>13</sup> and in collections of documents and readings.<sup>14</sup>

Other historians have been careful to place the Granger decisions in 1877. The standard studies by Warren, McLaughlin, Wright, Swisher, and Kelly and Harbison all provide the proper date.<sup>15</sup> Fish's *The Development of*

<sup>11</sup> Charles A. Beard, *Contemporary American History, 1877-1913* (New York, 1914), pp. 67, 70; Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States since the Civil War* (5 vols., New York, 1917-37), III (1926), 110; Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878* (New York, 1927), pp. 175-76; Ida M. Tarbell, *The Nationalizing of Business, 1878-1898* (New York, 1936), p. 97, n. 3; Fred A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860-1897* (New York, 1945), pp. 181, 311; Russel B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics: A Historical Study of Its Origins and Development, 1870-1950* (East Lansing, 1951), p. 47.

<sup>12</sup> Those who have done so within the past ten years include Jeannette P. Nichols and Roy F. Nichols, *The Republic of the United States: A History* (2 vols., New York, 1942), II, 199-200; Ray Allen Billington, Bert James Loewenberg, and Samuel Hugh Brockunier, *The United States: American Democracy in World Perspective* (New York, 1947), pp. 319, 320, 446; Harold Underwood Faulkner, *American Political and Social History* (5th ed., New York, 1948), pp. 445, 476; Frank Lawrence Owsley, Oliver Perry Chitwood, and H. C. Nixon, *A Short History of the American People* (2 vols., New York, 1945-48), II, 272; Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick, *The United States since 1865* (4th ed., New York, 1949), p. 230; John B. Rae and Thomas H. D. Mahoney, *The United States in World History: From Its Beginnings to World Leadership* (New York, 1949), p. 363; Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (2 vols., 4th ed., New York, 1950), II, 116, 117, n. 3; Merle Curti, Richard H. Shryock, Thomas C. Cochran, and Fred Harvey Harrington, *An American History* (2 vols., New York, 1950), II, 14, 145-46; Arthur Cecil Bining and Philip Shriver Klein, *A History of the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1950-51), II, 124.

<sup>13</sup> Arthur C. Bining, *The Rise of American Economic Life* (New York, 1943), pp. 442, 443; James A. Barnes, *Wealth of the American People: A History of Their Economic Life* (New York, 1949), p. 494; Harold U. Faulkner, *American Economic History* (6th ed., New York, 1949), p. 497; Fred Albert Shannon, *America's Economic Growth* (3d ed., New York, 1951), p. 403. Reginald C. McGrane says the Granger decisions were handed down in 1876, then dates *Munn v. Illinois* 1877: *The Economic Development of the American Nation* (Boston, 1942), pp. 366, 381.

<sup>14</sup> Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History* (2 vols. in 1, 5th ed., New York, 1949), II, 91; Ray Allen Billington, Bert James Loewenberg, and Samuel Hugh Brockunier, eds., *The Making of American Democracy: Readings and Documents* (2 vols., New York, 1950), II, 122, 207; Thomas G. Manning, David M. Potter, and Wallace E. Davies, eds., *Government and the American Economy, 1870-Present: Select Problems in Historical Interpretation* (New York, 1950), p. 68.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History* (3 vols., Boston, 1922), III, 301, 305; Andrew C. McLaughlin, *A Constitutional History of the United States* (New York, 1935), p. 733; Benjamin F. Wright, *The Growth of American Constitutional Law* (New York, 1942), pp. 88-103; Carl Brent Swisher, *American Constitutional Development* (Boston, 1943), p. 398, n. 30; Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origin and Development* (New York, 1948), pp. 506, 544, 704.

*American Nationality* is one of the earliest of a number of general texts that are similarly accurate.<sup>16</sup> Schlesinger corrected the mistake in the 1941 edition of his text;<sup>17</sup> and Hicks rectified his texts in the 1946 printings,<sup>18</sup> six years after he had rightly noted 1877 as the date in the *Dictionary of American History*.<sup>19</sup>

It is not difficult to find instances of mistakes in dating other Supreme Court decisions of the latter half of the nineteenth century, but the Granger Cases are the only important ones that have been and still are being misdated consistently by numerous historians.

A convenient source useful as a check against the occurrence of such errors is the annotated edition of the Constitution issued as a Senate document in 1938, which contains a table of cases listing the year of each decision.<sup>20</sup>

### *University of Illinois*

<sup>16</sup> Carl Russell Fish, *The Development of American Nationality* (New York, 1913), pp. 456–57. A few other early and recent instances are Frederic Logan Paxson, *The New Nation* (Boston, 1915), pp. 71, 157; Dwight Lowell Dumond, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1942), p. 580; Oscar Theodore Barck, Jr., Walter L. Wakefield, and Hugh Talmage Lefler, *The United States: A Survey of National Development* (New York, 1950), p. 544.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *Political and Social History of the United States, 1829–1925* (New York, 1925), p. 288; *Political and Social Growth of the United States, 1852–1933* (New York, 1933), p. 162; *Political and Social Growth of the American People, 1865–1940* (New York, 1941), p. 87.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the respective printings of John D. Hicks, *The American Nation: A History of the United States from 1865 to the Present* (Boston, 1945, 1946), p. 94; *A Short History of American Democracy* (Boston, 1943, 1946), p. 458.

<sup>19</sup> John D. Hicks, "The Granger Cases," "The Granger Movement," "Munn v. Illinois," in James Truslow Adams and R. V. Coleman, eds., *Dictionary of American History* (New York, 1940), II, 409, 411; IV, 46.

<sup>20</sup> *The Constitution of the United States of America (Annotated)*, Senate Document No. 232, 74 Cong., 2 sess. (1938, Serial No. 10009), pp. 1081–1178. The year of each decision is noted also in the citations throughout the volume.

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

General History

AVENUES OF HISTORY. By *L. B. Namier*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. 202. \$3.00.)

THIS is the kind of book which a historian might well have on his nightstand and dip into during wakeful hours. It is a collection of some twenty brief articles on a fairly wide range of topics by the brilliant and highly literate professor of modern history at Manchester. Most of the articles belong to that peculiarly English sort of book-reviewing in which the writer doesn't really review a book but merely uses it as a point of departure for a disquisition of his own. And the disquisitions of Professor Namier are always interesting and usually both penetrating and provocative.

The book opens with the sanest and most charming brief article I know of on the nature and use of history; it should be "must reading" for every member of the historical gild. But then comes a series of articles on general history and German history which, for all their sparkle, are apt to strike one as somewhat superficial and in certain respects specious. There is a curiously sympathetic critique of Toynbee, except that Namier doesn't like Toynbee's emphasis on religion or his preference for Moslems over Jews. There is a discussion of modern nationalism which overstresses the contrast between a "good" English and a "bad" German type, and which extols Mazzini while overlooking Herder. There is a savage and devastating review of Richard von Kühlmann's memoirs, and there are articles on Germany in 1848 and in the two world wars which are in the manner of an old Cato or a modern Vansittart and lead to the conclusion that *Germania delenda est*.

Less combative and more consistently illuminating are the articles which fill over half the volume and have to do with the field of English parliamentary history where Professor Namier has done his most scholarly and distinguished work. These range from "The Elizabethan Parliament," through "George III and Bute," "George IV and His Ministers," and "Palmerston," to "General Elections of 1945 and 1950." They show Namier at his best, and incidentally they confirm his reputation as an embattled British patriot.

The title of the book is perhaps a bit pretentious. Except for the introductory essay, broad "avenues" of history hardly open up to the reader, but he will find in the book some very pleasant and seductive bypaths of history.

*Afton, New York*

CARLTON J. H. HAYES

THE NATURE OF HISTORICAL EXPLANATION. By *Patrick Gardiner*,  
Lecturer in Philosophy, Wadham College, Oxford. [Oxford Classical and  
Philosophical Monographs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952.  
Pp. xii, 142. \$2.00.)

MR. Gardiner goes about his inquiry by sweeping out of the way a number of misconceptions about written history and its method of explanation. He denies the validity of neither "common sense" nor scientific explanations, but he does show that they may have no direct application for history, no matter how closely related they are to historical explanation. Yet he is especially concerned to dispose of the contention that history is "a self-contained world that must accordingly be interpreted by methods bearing little or no relation to those used in other branches of knowledge." The absolute uniqueness of historical events he successfully rejects. That historians are not free to disregard general laws in their work of reconstruction he demonstrates by showing that they sometimes find their answers by referring to "general laws of human responses to specified types of situation." Historical generalizations are not scientific laws. They have their usefulness only when it is admitted that the historical model is something very different from the scientific; it is no more than a guide to understanding. Much of the difficulty in this connection follows from the vagueness of historical concepts and the confusion regarding the purposes of written history.

Considering the complexity of the historical process, he rejects the notion that it involves a search for bare facts. Instead, he says, evidence is examined in order to make, amplify, correct, or replace inferences to the occurrence of past events. Historians tend to assess rather than to conclude. Their explanations cannot do more than suggest the direction in which confirmation is to be found. Real causes do not exist. "The historical process is not like a machine that has to be kept in motion by a metaphysical dynamo behind the scenes." Historians work on different levels, at different distances, with different aims and interests, and in different contexts.

It would be impossible to suggest here the acuity and clarity of this little book. Years ago A. L. Rowse remarked upon "how obtuse clever men can be." More recently the English philosopher W. H. Walsh has usefully subjected the historical Idealists to examination. But Mr. Gardiner's critical analysis of Croce and, especially, Collingwood is masterly. He dispels the cloud of mysticism surrounding the Idealist approach and places the whole subject of historical explanation on a fresh and open level. Drawing his illustrations from the worlds of science, "common sense," and historical writing, once again a philosopher delivers an illuminating lecture which ought to send a good many historians away less certain of themselves perhaps, but with a surer understanding of what it is they try to do.

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JOHN C. CAIRNS



THE ARCHEOLOGY OF WORLD RELIGIONS: THE BACKGROUND OF PRIMITIVISM, ZOROASTRIANISM, HINDUISM, JAINISM, BUDDHISM, CONFUCIANISM, TAOISM, SHINTO, ISLAM, AND SIKHISM. By *Jack Finegan*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xl, 599. \$10.00.)

THERE have been a number of publications on world religions in recent years, some dealing with historical or philosophical aspects, others with iconographical or literary emphasis. The title of the present work, *The Archeology of World Religions*, is rather misleading. Actually, it is a study of the early period of the major world religions with special emphasis on documents, architecture, and works of art. This book is written in a clear, straightforward, understandable language; the selection of illustrations and bibliographical notes is excellent.

Dr. Finegan, a scholar trained in several disciplines, states in his preface: "The archeological interest . . . determines the fact that attention is focussed throughout upon the ancient monuments and documents of the various religions. . . . Through the ancient writings and monuments which are often far older than any written records, the religion speaks with its authentic voice." However, the author seems to find it impossible to let the religion speak "with its own authentic voice" without involving his own assumptions and interpretation. Obviously, archaeological insights help in the understanding of the nature of religion, and vice versa. A fuller statement concerning the author's archaeological method could have made this book more penetrating.

In addition to the major world religions (the Hebrew-Christian religion was the subject of an earlier volume, see *AHR*, LI [July, 1946], 700), Finegan includes here a chapter on "Primitivism," in which he discusses the religions both of prehistoric man and of preliterate peoples of the present. In so doing he states: "It will not be assumed in advance that the contemporary beliefs of such folk correspond with those of prehistoric men . . ." (p. vii). But the author presents a fairly definite structure of prehistoric man's religion based on the study of present-day preliterate man's religion (pp. 5-23), a procedure contrary to his avowed approach and one difficult to justify. It might have been more satisfactory if the author had used the section on "the religion of prehistoric man" as an introduction to the study of world religions instead of presenting it as a separate religious system, "Primitivism."

Students of religion are always troubled with the problem of interpenetration of various religious systems; this is particularly the case with Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism in India, and Confucianism and Taoism in China. Finegan has keen insight and uses works of art to show the degree of interpenetration of various religions. For instance, his illustrations (Figs. 245, 246, 247, 248) show the Chinese influence on Islam, which is difficult to document otherwise. Also the "Manichean influence on later Persian Art" (p. 534, n. 225) is very suggestive.

His careful choice of illustrations makes the section on "Buddhism in Other Lands" (pp. 297-316), which tends otherwise to be too superficial, very meaningful.

In recent years, there has been a gradual recognition of the need of co-operation among scholars, with different training and sensitivities, for the study of world religions. Professor Finegan makes a great contribution to this cause, and his book will be appreciated by historians, students of religion, and by all who have a concern for world culture and civilization.

*University of Chicago*

JOSEPH M. KITAGAWA

A HISTORY OF UNITARIANISM IN TRANSYLVANIA, ENGLAND, AND AMERICA. By *Earl Morse Wilbur*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. x, 518. \$7.50.)

THIS is the second volume of "A History of Unitarianism," of which the first volume was published in 1945; and it tells the story of the rise and development of Unitarian Christianity in Transylvania, England, and America, with the same meticulous scholarship that the earlier volume devoted to the story of Socinianism and its antecedents on the European continent. Taken together, the two volumes constitute a definitive history of a movement within the Christian tradition that has been much misunderstood, sometimes maligned, and seldom studied as a whole. The great merit of Dr. Wilbur's work is its grasp of the complicated relations of Unitarianism in its various largely indigenous forms to the sweep of Christian thought in many lands over a period of four centuries.

For most American readers the first section of the present volume will perhaps prove the most interesting, not only because the story of Unitarianism in Transylvania is less familiar but also because it includes a series of highly dramatic episodes and personalities. Dr. Wilbur wisely allows the picturesque and sometimes moving quality of his story to make its own impression without the help of any of the adventitious aids of the novelist or scenario-writer; but his careful restraint makes the narrative more vivid to a reader with any imagination. If they were alert to their opportunities, the producers of Hollywood might find considerable material in these quiet pages. The story of Francis David, for example, is as filled with "good theater" as that of any medieval saint or hero.

Unitarianism has fully developed, in thought and polity, in four countries—Poland, Transylvania, England, and America—and one of the problems which a historian must try to answer is whether the Unitarian movement in each of these four lands was wholly independent in origin or whether there was sufficient influence of the earliest of the four upon the others to justify regarding them all as aspects of a single movement. In general, Dr. Wilbur's answer is on the side of almost complete independence, picturing the four Unitarian movements as autonomous rather than interdependent. The fact that for nearly two and a half centuries Unitarian churches existed and flourished in Transylvania before their

members "became aware that there were in England vigorous and expanding groups of churches holding their faith and bearing their very name of Unitarian" indicates the nature of the argument for autonomy. "Parallel with" but "separate from" are the phrases that seem to summarize Dr. Wilbur's views.

It is certainly correct to say that each of the four movements "instead of having originated elsewhere, and been translated only after attaining mature growth, appears to have sprung independently and directly from its own native roots" (p. 166), but the present reviewer would venture to question whether in each case it can be shown that the movement was "influenced by other and similar movements only after it had already developed an independent life and character of its own." The presence and participation of Biandrata at the general synod at Guylafehervar in 1568 raises at least a question as to the influence of the Socinianism of Poland upon the early Unitarianism of Transylvania; and the possibility that Socinianism may have had more than a negligible influence upon the Unitarianism of America would appear to be worth further exploration, especially in the Unitarianism that developed outside New England. But such questionings are the inevitable by-product of a work that is thoroughly sound and a most important contribution to the history of religious thought.

*Boston, Massachusetts*

FREDERICK MAY ELIOT

TRAVEL AND DISCOVERY IN THE RENAISSANCE, 1420-1620. By *Boies Penrose*, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. xvi, 369. \$5.00.)

THIS book begins with an introductory chapter dealing with classical and medieval geographical knowledge, theories, myths, and actual journeyings. In this the exploits of the Northmen and the legend of Atlantis are each given a scanty paragraph as unimportant to the theme of the book, for fifteenth-century geographers and explorers "had no thought," says the author, "of a western continent or New World." Ptolemy, the most influential geographer of the pre-discovery period, proved to be so mistaken in many of his concepts that "explorers of the Renaissance too often had to unlearn what he taught them."

Naturally in any tale of early geographical discovery, the reader turns to the accounts of such outstanding figures as Prince Henry the Navigator and Christopher Columbus. Mr. Penrose presents interesting sketches of these men and their accomplishments. "In appearance," he says, Henry was "a tall, blonde, muscular Englishman who embodied the best qualities of the two great seafaring nations from which he sprang" (p. 33). The reviewer is somewhat puzzled by this description. In pictures of the prince he appears to have been dark-haired; furthermore J. P. Oliveira Martins in *The Golden Age of Prince Henry the Navigator* (London, 1914) describes him as having hair "thick, shaggy and black like his heavily mustached face. He was thus anything but handsome" (p. 61). Martins further refers to him as "a typical Portuguese." Mr. Penrose sums up Henry's

accomplishments thus: "Henry stands out like a beacon, for it was he who for the first time in history laid down a definite geographical policy; he made a systematic and continuous campaign of exploration; he made discovery an art and science, and he made voyaging a national interest" (p. 35). Yet to the reviewer in spite of all Prince Henry's acknowledged interest in science and geographical discovery it appears strangely inconsistent that so far as we know he never commanded or accompanied one of the numerous voyages of discovery which for over forty years he sent forth, but finally met his death as the result, so Penrose states, of overexertion in his fourth campaign against the Moors of North Africa in 1458. Was this strange man after all more of a crusader than an explorer at heart?

Mr. Penrose likewise has interesting views about Columbus. Noting his attachment for the "Imago Mundi," Marco Polo, and Sir John Mandeville, he points to the fact that: "This curious medievalism in Columbus' thought was balanced by the practical sides of his nature, such as his superb skill as a navigator: but these two sides of his character must always make him a problem for the psychologist and a puzzle for the historian" (p. 78). His plan, says the author, tenaciously adhered to "assumed that between the Azores and the eastern shores of Asia there were no lands to be discovered," and therefore the Atlantic should be crossed "by as direct a route as possible" (p. 78). The author should perhaps have added that Columbus, having made a study of the prevailing winds and ocean currents, selected the most favorable route for a westward passage. While Penrose makes no mention of Columbus' work as a mapmaker in Portugal as other authors do, he lays special stress on his pre-discovery voyages to the British Isles, in which he is said to have participated, possibly also to Iceland and especially along the West African Coast. He attributes great importance to the Toscanelli map.

Space does not allow mention in this review of the many exploits of explorers, traders, and colonists summarized by the author. He concludes his book with chapters on the cartography and navigation of the Renaissance and on geographical literature. He fails, however, in the reviewer's opinion, even to touch on "the impact of the explorers' exploits on their contemporaries," an objective mentioned in his preface.

No book on the subject of geographical discovery can be considered complete in this regard which does not at least summarize the profound effects of the explorations and the ensuing colonization on the thought and life of Europeans. The veil which had hid half the world was torn away and an impetus given to unsurpassed intellectual achievement. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries man was confronted with a gloriously active past by the humanistic revival when he realized the possibilities and worth of an earthly existence, and by the explorations overseas with an unfathomable future in vast lands never before dreamt of. A tremendous impulse to activity, to search out and to know all things, to live life here and now to the full was thereby furnished. While classical humanism was

primarily interested in man and his life on earth, the geographical discoveries forced the study of the physical universe itself. Even more than the perusal of ancient authors they shattered false deductions and led to freer thought. Even more than the emulation of the past, the voyages and the economic changes which resulted from them produced a bold, free, individualistic spirit which chafed under restraint.

Over thirty years ago the importance of this whole expansion movement to a proper understanding of European and world development was considered in articles by Professor William R. Shepherd of Columbia University and in monographs by several of his students, the reviewer in 1920 and J. B. Botsford in 1924. Also, there appeared in 1925 the translation of A. Reichwein's *China and Europe*. Since then this topic of research has been developed in further articles and books which apparently the author has overlooked.

*University of Tennessee*

JAMES EDWARD GILLESPIE

THE MIGHTY LEAF: TOBACCO THROUGH THE CENTURIES. By Jerome E. Brooks. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1952. Pp. x, 361. \$5.00.)

THIS volume, according to the author, contains "everything that seemed of interest and importance in the history of tobacco," but matters of interest and importance are often difficult to blend. Such an account is undoubtedly needed, if for nothing else than to satisfy the curiosity of those unfamiliar with the weed. This number is legion and virtually all of them regard tobacco as romantic even though it grows in dirt and requires drudgery for production. In Mr. Brooks's hands, however, the story is replete with interesting tidbits involving royalty, much dainty sniffing of snuff, aristocrats on the Chesapeake, and that era of bad taste in the United States when "a very large part of the population" adopted the revolting habit of chewing. Approximately two thirds of the volume is devoted to the era preceding the emergence of the tobacco manufacturer.

On the other hand, there is valuable information relative to the early years. Of especial interest are these points: impetus exerted on pipe smoking by the Thirty Years' War, attempts to cultivate tobacco in England, introduction of tobacco into the Orient, a lively account of the Parson's Cause, and smuggling into England.

Some statements bear questioning. It is doubtful that the pipe held sway over "a large part of mankind" during the nineteenth century or that use of snuff in the same period became almost inconspicuous. Extreme condensation of contemporary events occasionally leads to outright errors among which are the incorrect date of a general order by the duke of Wellington (p. 204), a statement that Persia was not a Mohammedan country (p. 209), an implication that Louisiana had abandoned tobacco culture for sugar and cotton (p. 162) well before the invention of the cotton gin, and that Georgia produced significant quantities of

tobacco apparently soon after 1815 (p. 222). Most amazing is the statement that tobacco leaf after sale is pressure-packed into hogsheads to be regraded and redried later (p. 296).

All in all *The Mighty Leaf* contains information which will endear it to those who regard the tobacco industry as romantic. Such readers, as well as others, will also gain considerable knowledge of the Soverane Herb. Though its sprightly style at times seems too sprightly, the book reads easily. The index is comprehensive but the "Sources, References and Notes" will disappoint some. Reproduced from a volume published in the sixteenth century, the interesting frontispiece should be identified as *Nicotiana rustica* because of its method of branching.

East Texas State Teachers College

NANNIE M. TILLEY

DIE BRITSE OWERHEID EN DIE GROOT TREK [British Colonial Policy and the Great Trek]. By C. F. J. Muller. (Cape Town: Juta and Company. 1949. Pp. xvii, 323. 25s.)

THE PEOPLES AND POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA. By Leo Marquard. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. 258. \$3.50.)

THESE two books on South Africa have the common denominator of "division." That by Professor Muller is an analytical treatment of the causes of and reasons for subsequent British policy toward the Great Trek. Presenting his data and conclusions in more a topical than a narrative manner, Professor Muller has produced a book of high scholarship and readability. He feels that four major elements governed British colonial policy: imperial, commercial, financial, and philanthropic; and that the trek was a reaction by frontier farmers against the local application of the policy when after 1820 it became increasingly controlled by financial and particularly philanthropic considerations so that they felt helpless toward the natives and feared for their own cultural values. In its analysis of these factors the book does not go much beyond previous studies of the trek, including that by Professor Eric A. Walker whose emphasis on land-hunger tends to be reduced in importance by this analysis as a major reason for the trek.

The great value of the book is its second part, where Professor Muller by shrewd analysis of carefully collected data, particularly fiscal, does not so much uncover new major reasons for British post-trek policy as show by very trenchant analysis what was involved in these reasons. The four earlier factors struggled for dominance in determining that policy, often creating indecision and contradiction until the annexation of Natal. From this point the financial factor became increasingly potent as a policy-determinant so that Professor Muller feels that by 1854, when with the Bloemfontein Convention Britain dropped the last suzerainty claims over the trekkers, this element had come to outweigh the other three combined.

The author recognizes the interaction of factors, but it is difficult to show by



this analytical method. Individual pressure groups, particularly the missionaries, employed shifting combinations of them. More attention might be paid to the growing concern in the 1850's by Britain with European affairs as a reason why much of the South African venture was liquidated. American readers will be interested in an observation by the *Grahamstown Journal* in 1838 that the trek had spared the Cape a rebellion because disaffection had had the frontier as a "safety-valve [*sic!*]" (p. 88).

The survey of the problems of contemporary South Africa by Mr. Marquard does not have a bibliography and relies upon the observations, some acute, of the writer, a resident of the Orange Free State. Appalled by the near-atomization of the Union by cross-currents of division, Mr. Marquard declares South Africa to be "a house divided against itself." No friend of the Malan government, whose policies he regards as accentuating this fragmentation, he points out that its *apartheid* is the most recent and extreme form of the policy of all Union governments and one originated by early nineteenth-century missionaries.

Finished immediately after the judicial invalidation of the Separate Representation of Voters Act, the book went to press before the same fate befell the High Court of Parliament Act, designed to circumvent this decision. The government has accepted this second decision so that the Cape colored voters will be on the common registry for the 1953 elections, whose evaluation will be assisted by this book. Mr. Marquard helps perpetuate the error that Great Britain received the Cape by the Congress of Vienna (p. 9) rather than by the first treaty of Paris in 1814. The solution proposed for many Union problems—the integration of African and European populations—is heroic but unrealistic even in terms of the history cited in the book, which includes the 1922 Rand Rebellion and the 1924 pact, both to guard the industrial color bar.

University of Southern California

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS. THE SOVIET UNION, 1933-1939. [Department of State Publication 4539.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1952. Pp. cii, 1034. \$3.75.)

THIS volume includes, for the sake of convenience, previously published documents of 1933 relating to the recognition of the Soviet government by the United States. It omits reports in regard to the unsuccessful British and French negotiations with the Soviet Union in 1939, the conclusion of the nonaggression pact with Germany, and the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland. These papers are to be published in the regular annual volumes for 1939. The documents in this volume deal with recognition, the subsequent negotiations for the settlement of debts and claims and for the improvement of trade relations, American complaints over interferences with the proper functioning of the embassy in Moscow, efforts by Soviet agencies to purchase naval vessels and armaments and other war materials

in the United States, the beginning of the Soviet-Finnish war, Russian pressure upon the Baltic states for nonaggression pacts, and a number of other matters, of which few were brought to any happy conclusion. The volume is helpfully indexed, annotated, and cross-referenced.

The failure of the negotiations for settlement of debts and claims makes an interesting story, in which it appears that the United States was not wholly blameless. The Roosevelt-Litvinov memorandum which preceded recognition referred to a "loan" to be granted to the Soviet government. Subsequently the United States offered a "credit" but refused a "loan," while the Soviet government insisted upon a loan. On its side the Soviet government declared it impossible to recognize openly the Kerensky and other pre-Soviet debts and claims (as plainly contemplated in the memorandum) on the ground that it would thereby subject itself to claims of impossible size by other governments. The United States could not accept a concealed acknowledgment for the reason that all the facts about any settlement would have to be aired in Congress. So there were charges of bad faith on both sides. It was the opinion of Ambassador William C. Bullitt that the USSR had been willing, in 1933, to pay a substantial price for recognition because of an expected attack by Japan, and that as pressure from Japan relaxed, the Soviet government reneged on the promised price. The experience bore out the warning of Robert F. Kelley, chief of the State Department's Division of Eastern European Affairs, that all controversial points should be settled before recognition, not left until afterwards.

Of special interest today are certain estimates of Soviet policy voiced by American ambassadors in the 1930's. Mr. Bullitt was convinced, after some eighteen months in Moscow, that "there has been no decrease in the determination of the Soviet Government to produce world revolution," that diplomatic relations with other states were regarded in Moscow as merely "armistice" relations, and that "it is the conviction of the leaders of the Soviet Union that this 'armistice' can not possibly be ended by a definitive peace but only by a renewal of battle" (p. 224). If the United States should find itself at war with Japan, Bullitt wrote in the same dispatch (p. 227), "The Soviet Union would certainly attempt to avoid becoming an ally until Japan had been thoroughly defeated and would then merely use the opportunity to acquire Manchuria and Sovietize China." These opinions may be compared with those of Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, who believed, three years later, that the United States and the USSR would have a common ground "for a long period of time, . . . in the fact that both are sincere advocates of World Peace" (p. 557) and that "There is no doubt of the sincerity and the friendliness of the U.S.S.R. toward the Government of the United States . . ." (p. 566). It is obvious today that high American officials hearkened too much to Davies and too little to Bullitt in a critical period of American-Soviet relations.

*University of Buffalo*

JULIUS W. PRATT

## Ancient and Medieval History

A HISTORY OF SCIENCE: ANCIENT SCIENCE THROUGH THE GOLDEN AGE OF GREECE. By George Sarton. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. xxvi, 646. \$10.00.)

For a full forty years George Sarton has dedicated himself with unflagging zeal and industry to the study of the history of science, and today he is recognized as our leading authority in this important branch of learning. As editor of *Isis* and *Osiris* he has provided outlets for scholarly monographs, and his imposing *Introduction to the History of Science*, published by the Carnegie Institution between 1927 and 1948, is indispensable to every serious worker in the field. Its five volumes average nearly a thousand pages each, yet they reach only to the end of the fourteenth century. Here Sarton lists by periods all known persons who engaged in scientific studies or speculations, records the main events of their lives, summarizes their ideas and discoveries, indicates the best editions and translations of their writings, and mentions recent studies. His broad view of scientific research leads him to include the historians and social scientists along with the mathematicians and physical scientists of all countries, Asiatic as well as European. As works of reference, the volumes are invaluable, but they were not intended for the beginner or for the general reader seeking a broad survey.

Professor Sarton now plans to present his materials anew in more readable form. The first volume of this *History of Science* opens with the dawn of history and carries the narrative down to 300 B.C. Its opening chapters describe the scientific progress of the Egyptians, Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians, but three quarters of the book (nearly 500 pages) deals with the Greeks. In the *Introduction* Greek scientists received less than 100 pages, yet it seems unlikely that each equal segment of that work will grow into a full volume of the *History*. The author treats Greek science at especial length because of its basic importance but also because of his life-long enthusiasm for the Greeks and their highly rational thinking. He tells us that when he was still in high school he purchased the five volumes of Croiset's *Histoire de la littérature grecque* as the first important work in his scholar's library, and the present volume is dedicated to his colleague and friend, the Harvard Hellenist Werner Jaeger.

Sarton is convinced that the scientific achievements of an age cannot be adequately understood without a knowledge of their general social and intellectual background. He has therefore made his *History* a cultural history of Greece, telling a little about her political history, something about her poets, a good deal about her philosophers, and something about her educational ideals, before he takes up her mathematicians, physicists, and other scientists. Not all parts of the book are of equal brilliance. The political history, for example, is formal and conventional, and occasionally—as in the paragraphs dealing with the Persian

wars or those on the Athenian Empire—it is rather unsatisfactory. But when we consider the magnitude of the field Sarton has staked out for himself, we are amazed at the high level of his performance.

The book is enlivened with numerous *obiter dicta*, some of which run to a page or more, and the author's lively imagination reaches out over the whole field of learning. His twenty pages on the Homeric question admit that Homer knew very little about science, even as it stood in his day, but they give salty comments upon Wolf, Schliemann, and their followers, and they drag in a host of other writers such as Fénelon, whose *Télémaque* was so popular in the eighteenth century, De Grave (1806) who thought the *Iliad* was written in Flanders, and Samuel Butler who wrote a book entitled *The Authoress of the Odyssey* (1897). Only four pages are allowed to the Greek technicians of the Archaic period, but two of these deal with the legendary Anacharsis, to whom various mechanical inventions were falsely attributed. His name suggests to Sarton the abbé Barthélemy's *Le voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* (1788), a once popular book filled with romantic enthusiasm for Greece, and this in turn leads to a footnote on Anacharsis Clootz, a member of the French Convention who styled himself "the spokesman of the human race" and was guillotined in 1794! The volume contains more than a hundred illustrations, nearly half of which reproduce the title pages or sample pages from the first editions of classical or modern works—including all those mentioned in this paragraph. In short, Sarton has done much more than write a history of Greek science: he has presented us with a fascinating picture of the mind of a scholar—of a scholar whose interest in science is primarily humanistic, who is a rationalist, a bibliophile, and a wit, and who is a man of wide and tremendous erudition. Truly he is a humanist whose interest extends to everything that is human.

University of Illinois

J. W. SWAIN

EXCAVATIONS AT OLYNTHUS. Part XIV, TERRACOTTAS, LAMPS, AND COINS FOUND IN 1934 AND 1938. By *David M. Robinson*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, Number 39.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1952. Pp. xx, 533; 174 plates. \$25.00.)

DAVID Moore Robinson in this volume completes publication of the excavations at Olynthus. He had help in parts, and good help, but the job as a whole, including the larger part of the fourteen volumes, results from the energy, generosity with resources, and knowledge of one man.

Part (i.e., Volume) XIV first surveys all the terracottas hitherto discovered in Macedonia and Thrace. They are few: the semi- and non-Greek Balkan peoples were avid for other things Hellenic, not for terracottas. The terracottas from Olynthus, 1,325 in all, of which 507 are published in Volume XIV, are notable for variety, as seen in the Negroes (nos. 413–16); a fine archaic protome (no. 1); and, the most striking pieces, two Pans (nos. 411 and 412). This

volume also emphasizes again the many types which would once have been thought to be Hellenistic but are now established by Olynthus as ante-348 B.C. Examples are nos. 271 and 272, "kissing" faces; 375 ff., some of the numerous actors; 358, 359, 364-67, 371, 372, 374, 394-99 (under 397-98 on p. 289 the date for the Egyptian New Kingdom should read sixteenth, not sixth, century), squatting figures, some apparently related to the Egyptian Bes—utterly un-Hellenic, one would have said—and less striking examples down to the "smiling faces" 491-92. The index under "Hellenistic" (p. 527) has forty-five references. On Attis pages 118-25 are important. No. 222, as the author hints, is more likely to be a citharoedic Apollo than a female figure.

The volume is excellent in its careful record of the spots where terracottas were found. Terracottas were *not* used chiefly as grave furniture, nor is their cult significance primary; instead, they were for decoration and amusement. The finding-places are of interest also for the light thrown on how the city was ravaged by Philip's men in 348. Historians will wish to read pages 1-2, 43-60, 63-67, 330-36, and 403-12. A grand concordance (pp. 465-509) gives the places of finding of *all* objects discovered at Olynthus, thus covering the entire contents of the fourteen volumes.

Despite the fascination of many large and small details in the present volume, the fact that it actually completes so vast an undertaking overshadows all else (for reviews of some earlier volumes see *AHR*, XLIV [1938-39], 580; XLVII [1941-42], 824; XLVIII [1942-43], 303; LIII [1947-48], 145; LVI [1950-51], 171). Olynthus is famous as a Greek Pompeii, but Olynthus was pillaged before burial; we have only what was left, the contents of a shallow fill. It offers little in the way of public buildings, major sculpture, or civic documents. As if with conscious singleness of purpose, Olynthus is concentrated on the private life of the individual, and on the several subjects which grow from it, i.e., on his dwelling, its multifarious contents, its place in a plan. In this sphere Olynthus is unrivaled, and the fourteen volumes are indispensable.

The volumes themselves are distinguished most of all for the amount of comparative material adduced—objects everywhere, both published and unpublished, are cited with a lavishness which forms a counterpart to the unstinted wealth of plates. The plates help to make the set heavy, bulky, and as costly (\$227.50) as all such publications nowadays. A student new to Olynthus should begin with the later volumes, which naturally are more comprehensive.

The final volume appeared only twenty-four years after the first excavation began. Taking all the factors into account, especially the number of objects, I believe this to be a record in a land where many big excavations, begun earlier, are still incompletely published. Olynthus is an argument, so far as it goes, for one-man control—provided the one man has energy and knowledge—and for a minimum of preliminary publication.

*Harvard University*

STERLING DOW

THE SHORTER CAMBRIDGE MEDIEVAL HISTORY. Volume I, THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY. Volume II, THE TWELFTH CENTURY TO THE RENAISSANCE. By C. W. Previté-Orton. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1952. Pp. xxi, 643; xix, 645-1202. \$12.50.)

To quote the jacket description, this is an 1,100-page "concise version" of the eight-volume *Cambridge Medieval History*, "distilled" by the late Professor Previté-Orton (who was one of the editors of the eight-volume version) for the use of "unprofessional as well as professional historians." It deals for the most part with political and ecclesiastical events in western Europe (with some attention to eastern Europe and the Byzantine and Moslem worlds) during the period from Constantine (305-337) to the end of the fifteenth century. There are sections dealing with the "Later Roman Empire," "Byzantium and Islam," the "Foundation of Western Europe" (kingdoms, church and Holy Roman Empire), the "Dark Ages," the "Twelfth Century" (including its "Renaissance"), "Papacy," "Empire and National Monarchies during the Late Middle Ages," and "The Transition to Modern Times" (including a brief survey of the Renaissance).

Economic-social, literary, and artistic factors come in for little attention *per se*; there are only twenty-five pages on "The Twelfth-Century Renaissance," ten on social and political concepts, and fifteen on *The Renaissance*. Even more emphatically than the eight-volume version, this Cambridge history tends to "drum and trumpet history," albeit of a high type. For information concerning art, literature, learning, and music, one must go elsewhere. For example, a group of graduate students (professional historians in the making) who were eager for knowledge concerning Augustine, Boethius, Bede, Alcuin, Abelard, Aquinas, mosaics, and Romanesque and Gothic art, turned from the "Shorter History" in frustration, to find information and inspiration in Durant's *Age of Faith*. Might we not then, look for a Cambridge *cultural* history of the Middle Ages? Already we have two volumes of the *Cambridge Economic History*, a tacit corrective for the lack of economic coverage in the eight-volume *Cambridge Medieval History*.

But, this uncultural cloud has a silver lining, 265 magnificent illustrations, taken from contemporary manuscripts or monuments, and (*mirabile dictu*) placed alongside the textual matter they illustrate. Among the seldom-seen manuscript illuminations are a fourth-century road map of Gaul to illustrate the provinces of the late Roman Empire; Louis IX's gift-elephant to Henry III, illustrating Anglo-French relations; a twelfth-century Welsh falconer; the murder of Becket, and scenes depicting the conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV. There also are unusual portraits of most of the important historical characters; facsimiles of a page from Bede's *History* and from "Sumer is icumen in," and a modern reconstruction of the Great Church of Cluny; also sculptural and architectural items. One could wish for detailed captions underneath these fascinating



pictures; printer problems to the contrary notwithstanding, we prefer to pay more for our books rather than turn pages constantly, to the front or back seeking the explanatory notes. Aside from such criticism, our thanks go to Dr. S. H. Steinberg for mobilizing such a pictorial treat. No such praise goes for the maps, but the genealogical and chronological tables are excellent.

So far as the text is concerned, although the narrative of wars, diplomacy, administration, etc., is handled with a sure touch, it is so heavily factual that all but professionals in medieval history often will lose sight of the forest for the trees. This in spite of the fact that there are excellent characterizations and summaries on almost every page. Is there, for example, any better condensed character analysis of Boniface VIII than this (on p. 770)?

The new Pope, a native of Anagni in the Campagna, stood head and shoulders above his colleagues in legal knowledge, diplomatic experience, and business talents, but his orthodoxy and morals were alike questionable, and his temperament was his greatest enemy. He was a law and an idol to himself. He treated men with a truculent scorn, exacerbated by his painful disease, the stone. He possessed a rough-handed dexterity in bribery and intimidation. Yet the hatred he inspired nullified it, just as his engrossing nepotism helped to lame his overstrained pretensions to rule and bend to his will Church and State in Western Christendom.

Again, is there any more objective and illuminating summary of the faults and achievements of medieval civilization, by a medievalist, than that with which Professor Previté-Orton ended his 1,100-page survey?

Taken as a whole, the history of the Middle Ages after the ruin in the West of the ancient civilization is one of progress, progress in society, government, order and organization, laws, the development of human faculties, of rational thought, of knowledge and experience, of art and culture. Men throughout had been restlessly creative and aspiring. But that progress to a better life had been perpetually thwarted and delayed, not merely by external disasters but by the passions and wilful ambitions of men themselves. They generated countless ills. Rough and ready, even skilful and inspired remedies brought with their benefits fresh misfortunes on mankind. Innate barbarism broke from its fetters time and time again. Potent delusions summoned their appropriate nemesis. In our distant retrospect we can perceive how crooked and perilous was the upward road.

At times, the straight narrative of political history is equally dramatic in its impact on the reader. The sober facts concerning Inquisitorial procedure (as related on p. 679) and those concerning Philip IV's travesty of justice in the Templar trials (p. 785) left this reader with ominous forebodings. The political history of the Middle Ages, as told by Previté-Orton, may not be effective in helping us moderns to avoid the mistakes of our medieval past, but sometimes it provides bits of morbid "true-story" melodrama comparable to the international-spy thrillers in which we moderns seek release. In general, we believe that the "Shorter History" will be popular with those who are already well versed

in the lore of the Middle Ages and who are fond of political narrative. Without superseding the eight-volume history, it does mitigate that version's steady impact of detailed and sometimes unco-ordinated facts, at the same time providing frequent bits of interpretation, generally lacking in the longer version. It has been said that the longer version gives the reader his facts straight, undiluted with fancy (i.e., interpretation). The "Shorter History" dilutes the facts with frequent characterizations and summaries. Nevertheless, for all but the professional historian, this work is likely to be a soporific, unless attention is concentrated on the pictures. For lovers of medieval art and literature (and their number is legion), there might well be the regret that the "Shorter History" was not dedicated to culture, an aspect of medieval history as yet unexploited by the Cambridge historiographers.

*University of North Carolina*

LOREN C. MACKINNEY

A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES. Volume II, THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM AND THE FRANKISH EAST, 1100-1187. By *Steven Runciman*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 523. \$7.50.)

It would probably be asking too much if one were to expect the author of the volume here under review to display as complete a mastery of the eighty-seven years covered in this survey as he was able to reveal in his earlier volume dealing with the four years of the First Crusade. Such an achievement would be possible only by someone who had devoted a lifetime to a study of this period—a claim which the author of these volumes nowhere makes. Instead, he modestly implies that he is following in the footsteps of Röhrich, W. B. Stevenson, and Grousset, using "the same principal sources as these writers," and reserving only the right "to give to the evidence an interpretation that sometimes differs" from theirs.

Despite his reservations about the measure of his own contributions, the author has added something to our understanding of the period which this volume explores. His superior knowledge of the East, which includes a close acquaintance not only with its geography but also with its people and their religious attitudes, offers much to enhance the value of the present work. His intuitive understanding of the political and military leaders in that area, his unabashed willingness to probe their motives, and his positive judgments—so reminiscent of Gibbon—regarding men and events cannot fail to interest the reader.

Occasionally, too, he has made an independent study of the sources to good purpose. Through the first generation of the twelfth century, the account which this volume sets forth will command, on the whole, as much respect from both specialists and lay readers as did the first volume. After that time, and except for his comments on the battle of Hattin, his deviations from his illustrious predecessors seem hardly to be based on independent study. Apparently the manu-

script for this volume was already in the publisher's hands before the reviews of the first volume appeared. At any rate, there is little evidence that he has made much use of the suggestions which these reviews contained. His sincere tribute to John LaMonte in this volume, and to D. C. Munro in the first, indicate that he is aware of the work which has been done by American scholars in the field he has chosen to study. Yet his citations of this work continue to be haphazard; and among the notable omissions in his bibliography are the writings of P. K. Hitti on the Arabs and of C. W. David on the capture of Lisbon, as well as many articles in *Speculum*.

To various details in this account specialists are certain also to file demurrers. It would thus seem wrong to group, as he does, the three Italian maritime states (p. 15) under an indictment true only of Venice. Both Genoa and Pisa contributed immediately to the crusading effort. The author's admiration for Alexius, which is mostly deserved, seems also to be carried a bit too far (p. 25). His detailed analysis of the conduct of Manuel (pp. 234-35), whose regard for the Latins was much more sincere than that of his grandfather, might have been applied with equal truth to Alexius in his dealing with "the crusade of 1101." After all, he was then at war with Bohemond and Tancred, as Manuel was with Sicily during the Second Crusade. It was Bohemond, not Urban II (p. 83), who was responsible for Daimbert's career in the East. This reviewer agrees with the author's judgment on the services rendered by Arnulf (pp. 85 and 144), but wonders whether the slurs on his reputation arose as much from any actual misconduct on his part as from the undying hatred of Count Raymond's followers. Should not the reference on page 271 to "Pisidian Antioch" apply, furthermore, to the Antioch west of Pisidia? In the same way, the use of the term, "the greatest army" (p. 281), might also be questioned, for however well this expeditionary force may have been provided with numerous and glamorous leaders, it was much like the proverbial Mexican army in consisting pretty largely of all generals and no privates, a good share of these last having been destroyed in Asia Minor. The author has also unfortunately fallen into the error committed by Grousset in following the romantic fiction contained in the old French continuation of William of Tyre regarding the events of 1181-1184 (pp. 425-44 *passim*). Marshall W. Baldwin, who examined the sources thoroughly in his *Raymond III of Tripolis and the Fall of Jerusalem, 1140-1187* (Princeton, 1936) concluded (p. 57) that "up to December, 1183, or early 1184, William of Tyre has given the correct chronology." And by his own account, William was archbishop of Tyre and chancellor of the kingdom and resident there as late as 1184 (cf. Prol. Bks. XXII and XXIII, *passim*).

Most students of the crusades will probably regard the omissions in this volume as its most serious defect. The author frankly asserts that, following "the old chroniclers who knew their business," his "main theme is warfare." Yet even these chroniclers recognized the importance of such peaceful intercourse as Fulcher of Chartres recites in recording, as early as 1124, various attendant

social changes. In the same way, William of Tyre includes in his criticism of King Amaury's Egyptian policy some explanation of the economic developments involved, and also broadens his discussion of Patriarch Fulcher's appeal to Rome in 1155 by commenting on the subtraction (by papal privilege) of the Hospitalers and many lesser foundations in Palestine from the authority of the patriarch. All these developments had important implications for the kingdom of Jerusalem, and deserved, it would seem, more adequate consideration in this volume, which might also have included a more extended discussion of the rise and nature of the military orders, the building of crusaders' castles, and the consequent changes in tactics and strategy. In addition, the constant commercial, diplomatic, religious, and military contact of East and West during this century could not have failed to lead to a wide exchange, not only of blows and wares but also of various social, intellectual, and artistic ideas and points of view. Certainly chivalry, courtesy, and urbanity were taking on a new meaning in western Europe at this time. The transformation of the gloomy feudal fortress into the romantic medieval castle, which afforded a more gracious way of living, was also definitely under way. The quickening of intellectual activity at Bologna, Montpellier, Paris, Oxford, and elsewhere must likewise have owed something to these contacts with Constantinople, Syria, and Alexandria. And was it not also in this century that the cities in the north of Italy were accomplishing their commercial and industrial revolutions by establishing direct trade connections at Alexandria, Acre, and Antioch, and, too, undermining the monopoly of Constantinople in the manufacture of luxury goods? Most readers, this reviewer believes, would gladly have exchanged a fuller discussion of these developments in place of the large attention paid by the author to many petty dynastic squabbles, neighborhood brawls, and minor raids.

The lay reader may, however, rest confident in the assurance that this volume is superior in some respects to any of its three predecessors with which the author has invited comparison. It is far more interesting and readable than is the work of Röhricht and Stevenson, and less romantic and unreliable than that of Grousset. And if any reader should find the steady diet of campaigns and raids, as here reported, somewhat tedious, he might pause at intervals and turn instead to the Lowell Lectures of D. C. Munro (*The Kingdom of the Crusaders*, 1935). For those, however, who would gain the fullest understanding of the crusades, this volume underlines the importance of the comprehensive, collaborative work on the subject that is now in progress under the sponsorship of the Mediaeval Academy of America.

*University of Minnesota*

A. C. KREY

A MONUMENT TO SAINT JEROME: ESSAYS ON SOME ASPECTS OF HIS LIFE, WORKS, AND INFLUENCE. Edited by *Francis X. Murphy*,

C.S.S.R. Foreword by Cardinal Tisserant. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1952. Pp. xv, 295. \$4.50.)

It has been remarked that a student of the Middle Ages would do well to start by learning the Vulgate by heart. That remains today Jerome's abiding contribution to Western life; for the Middle Ages he was only less important as a commentator on Scripture and as author of the Chronicle and *De viris illustribus*. The present tribute to his memory is admirably planned and executed. After a charming foreword by Cardinal Tisserant, we have a sketch of Jerome's life by the editor, who contributes also a chapter on Jerome as historian. The other chapters are F. Cavallera, "The Personality of St. Jerome"; L. N. Hartmann, "St. Jerome as an Exegete"; G. Bardy, "St. Jerome and Greek Thought"; E. P. Burke, "St. Jerome as a Spiritual Director"; J.-R. Palanque, "St. Jerome and the Barbarians"; E. A. Quain, "St. Jerome as a Humanist"; M. L. W. Laistner, "The Study of St. Jerome in the Early Middle Ages"; and P. W. Skehan, "St. Jerome and the Canon of the Holy Scriptures."

It is noteworthy that scholars approaching Jerome from a variety of angles show so much agreement in their estimate of his personality and work. The contrast with Augustine (cf. J. A. Straub, *Historia*, I [1950], 64 ff., on the difference in their attitudes toward the sack of Rome), the interest in sanctity, scholarship, and style rather than in philosophy and theology, the changing phases of passionate feeling which made him see and paint the world as black and white—these points stand out. So does the fact of development; above all in Biblical scholarship Jerome grew continually, and even in other matters he could admit that he had been mistaken.

There is much in detail that is highly illuminating, e.g., on Jerome's use of Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament, on the evidence which his life affords for the way in which the Christian East and West were in fact separated, on his variations of attitude toward classical antiquity, on the range of his reading, on the transmission and use of his writings. (The reference in *Comm. in Dan.* [P. L. XXV 495C] quoted p. 221, to Zeno as mentioning hell [*inferos*] and the immortality of the soul is puzzling; is it a recollection of Lactant, *Div. inst.* VII 7.13?) The volume as a whole is an eminently readable as well as thorough picture of Jerome in relation to his time and to later generations; specialists in various fields will welcome it, but it deserves the attention also of wider circles interested in the formation of European culture and in the study of periods of transition. For myself, I found it hard to lay the book down.

Harvard University

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK

NICOLE ORESME AND THE ASTROLOGERS: A STUDY OF HIS *LIVRE DE DIVINATIONS*. By G. W. Coopland, Emeritus Professor, University of

Liverpool. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. vii, 221. \$4.50.)

In this book Oresme is approached from the standpoint of students of medieval French and is considered primarily as a popularizer, "man of his age" (p. 6), broadcaster—so to speak—to the laity of the fourteenth century, and commentator on the science and occult science of Latin learning to the medieval man in the street. Professor Coopland feels that Oresme spoke "from different intellectual rooms" in his various writings and that, while in his Latin works he may be a precursor of modern science, or reflect the scientific advance of his own time, the *Livre de Divinacions* "falls outside his scientific works and belongs rather to the field of the didactic literature of his day" (p.v), and even serves as a gauge of the average mental attitude and interests of that period and region. I am somewhat skeptical as to this attempt to distinguish between Oresme's writings in Latin and in the vernacular, since I found the Latin translation of *Livre de Divinacions* "easily the clearest, most concise and coherent, most readable and best presented of Oresme's works against astrology" (*A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, III, 401). Professor Coopland himself occasionally strays into another of Oresme's intellectual rooms, as in his discussion of "Oresme and Copernicus."

The value of the volume is enhanced by the addition in one of the appendixes of unpublished astrological portions of Philippe de Mézières' *Songe du vieil pelerin*, a treatment of the subject analogous to Oresme's and interesting to compare with it. The inclusion also of Oresme's brief *Tractatus contra judicarios astronomos*, which opens, "*Multi principes et magnates . . .*" is not explained in the preface, but the comparison of it with *Livre de Divinacions* at pages 20–21 indicates that, although written in Latin, it was a similar treatment intended for a lay audience. Indeed, it is, if anything, more elementary and further stresses the difficulty of distinguishing between Oresme's writings in Latin and in the vernacular.

There are still traces in this volume of the old tendency to underestimate medieval scientific activity, as when we read of "the slight progress made in science in those centuries" (p. 44), or of "a certain strange inertia of the medieval mind not conducive to those outbursts of discovery which have distinguished some epochs of the history of thought" (p. 42). To say, "The motions of the heavenly bodies were not yet so open to examination as was the price of bread or the disappearance of good coin from circulation" (p. 45), overlooks the increasing evidence of careful astronomical observation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On the other hand, to say that Pierre d'Ailly "wrote strongly against astrology" (p. 6) gives a wrong impression, since he repeatedly came to its defense and even put the birth of Christ under the stars.

The translation of *Livre de Divinacions* is in modern English and reproduces the thought of Oresme rather than attempting a literal rendition of the wording and somewhat garrulous style of the fourteenth-century French vernacular. This is of small moment, since the latter is ever present on the opposite pages. A passage



at pages 60–61, of which Professor Coopland says he is unable to make a satisfactory rendering, would seem to run as follows:

And how these are arts and natural sorceries to drive people out of their senses, and a very dangerous thing. And yet some think that they can make use of them without sin. And in the same treatise I speak of dreams, visions, and natural prophecies—both true and false.

There are many indications of precise and careful scholarship, such as the demonstration that Nicole is the proper spelling of Oresme's Christian name, and that it is *Livre de* (not *des*) *Divinacions*. But even Homer nods, and in note 32 on page 186 we find "Calcidus" for Chalcidius, "Sacro Boscho" for Sacrobosco, and "Termegestas" for Trismegistus. It is regrettable that the learned notes have been separated from their text and huddled together at the close of the volume like a collection of lost articles which have no relation to one another. At page 184 one could wish that the shelf mark of the St. Johns College MS were given, and it might have been well to add indexes of MSS and Incipits to that of authorities used by Oresme and the bibliographical index.

*Columbia University*

LYNN THORNDIKE

ROGER BACON AND HIS SEARCH FOR A UNIVERSAL SCIENCE: A RECONSIDERATION OF THE LIFE AND WORK OF ROGER BACON IN THE LIGHT OF HIS OWN STATED PURPOSES. By *Stewart C. Easton*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. vii, 255. \$4.00.)

THE present biography of Roger Bacon will not, it might be noted at the outset, meet with favor from those professional historians and laymen who cling tenaciously to the outworn concepts of Roger Bacon as a solitary light in the otherwise Stygian gloom of the early thirteenth century. But it should do much to provide an engrossing and readable antidote to the complacent dissemination of such misconceptions and errors among those whose minds are still malleable. For Dr. Easton provides, albeit in good scholastic fashion, an altogether fascinating account of Roger Bacon. He succeeds admirably in his intention "to place Bacon in relation to the events and thought of his time rather than in the framework of all history, and to consider him as a person rather than as a phenomenon" (p. 205).

That Roger Bacon was not a lone figure, a "martyr of science," working in solitary isolation from his contemporaries and associates and at constant odds with the authorities because of his scientific interests has already been ably demonstrated in the researches and essays of A. G. Little, Lynn Thorndike, Robert Steele, and others (pp. 4–6) whose works are carefully analyzed in the excellent bibliographical portions (pp. 236 ff.) of the present study. Dr. Easton's chief contribution lies in the skill with which he has drawn on these researches and

critical studies and has woven together their scattered threads to form a consecutive biography. Bacon's early life, education, and teaching at Paris; his writings, his vision of a universal science, and his disillusionment with ever finding or developing such a universal science are all passed in review. Following the text are three appendixes: "The Lectures of Robert Grosseteste to the Franciscans, 1229-35"; "Who Was the Unnamed Master?" so severely criticized by Bacon in the *Opus minus* and *Opus tertium*; and finally a discussion of "Two Printed Works Attributed to Bacon." Of particular interest in the second appendix is the discussion calling attention to the significant work of Albertus Magnus in natural science.

Dr. Easton's primary interest throughout the work has not been in Bacon's apparent "anticipations of modern knowledge and the 'modern' viewpoint, nor his supposed originality and uniqueness." He is interested in Bacon rather as a specific product of the thirteenth century imbued with all the current beliefs and errors of his contemporaries, and unique only in the sense that "he laid the impress of his own mind upon his material by selecting what he considered relevant to his purpose and interpreting this in accordance with his subjective scheme" (p. 2). The persecution and neglect of which Bacon complains, Dr. Easton would attribute in large part to the defects of character demonstrated throughout Bacon's writings. He was rebellious and resentful of restraint and of authority. He was jealous of anyone who was considered an authority. He lacked a sense of diplomacy and more particularly the ability to detect and criticize his own shortcomings. He could not be satisfied with finding some little stone to add to the sum total of scientific inquiry, he must have a knowledge of all science, and he insisted "that a man's knowledge is worthless unless it is complete," a fact which Dr. Easton finds surprising even for Bacon's age (pp. 71-72). In addition Dr. Easton would attribute, on conjectural reasoning since the documents are silent, the restraints placed upon Bacon by his order, to intramural dissensions among the Franciscans and particularly to Bacon's known sympathy for the Spirituals as well as for his other dissident doctrinal views (p. 199).

The study as a whole reflects well and does credit to the masterly hand that directed it. The conclusions are well documented where documents exist and are clearly marked as conjectural where no documentation is possible. The merit of this work lies in its temperate character, in its readable presentation of the contemporary scene, and in the careful delineation of the problems still to be settled by further manuscript studies.

Hunter College

PEARL KIBRE

ANGLO-SAXON WRITS. By F. E. Harmer. [The Ward Bequest.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press; New York: Barnes and Noble. 1952. Pp. xxii, 604. \$12.50.)

In this volume Miss Harmer has brought together all the writs of the Anglo-Saxon period which are known to exist. In her detailed and scholarly introduction she discusses the origin, contents, and function of this type of document. The Anglo-Saxon writ, a letter concerned with administrative business written in the vernacular and sealed, is the basis for the royal writ which has been consistently used in England to the present day. Although the earliest writ now extant dates from the reign of Æthelred II, and although the form cannot be traced beyond the reign of Alfred, this form had probably been fixed by usage over a long period. Miss Harmer does not exclude the possibility of foreign influence, but she is certain that the writ form itself was of English origin as was the practice of sealing with a hanging seal. The authenticity of writs, a subject previously given little attention by scholars, is discussed by Miss Harmer in detail. Although the writ was not a landbook, it frequently functioned as a title deed. Monasteries, anxious to prove rights to land, copied writs into their cartularies. Thus both the temptation and the opportunity to alter or fabricate writs were present. In determining authenticity Miss Harmer has considered whether the grant described was actually made, whether the extant text is the original or a copy, and if the latter, whether alterations have been made in it.

The writs themselves are arranged according to the religious houses in whose interest they were preserved. In an introduction to each group Miss Harmer discusses the contents of the writs and the specific grounds on which she has judged them to be authentic, doubtful, or spurious. Writs in Anglo-Saxon are translated and important alternative readings given. The notes contain an account of the sources for each writ, the basis on which it has been dated, and an explanation of key or doubtful words. Biographical notes give available information about persons mentioned in the texts.

Miss Harmer has thus made available to students of Anglo-Saxon England authentic texts of all extant writs together with a scholarly discussion of their background and diplomatic. Both she and the University of Manchester Press are to be congratulated on an excellent piece of work.

Princeton, New Jersey

ELISABETH G. KIMBALL

CASUS PLACITORUM AND REPORTS OF CASES IN THE KING'S COURTS, 1272-1278. Edited with an Introduction by *William Huse Dunham, Jr.*, George Burton Adams Professor of History in Yale University. [Publications of the Selden Society, Volume LXIX, for the Year 1950.] (London: Bernard Quaritch. 1952. Pp. xciv, 176. £3 13s.6d.)

Two different but related groups of materials are assembled in this volume. The first group consists of the basic text (B.M. MS. Harley 1208) of the *Casus Placitorum*—a collection of judgments, precedents, and rules determined in the courts of Henry III—and five chapters of addenda thereto based upon collations

of other manuscripts. The second group comprises two collections of reports of cases heard in the king's courts between 1272 and 1278. Prefacing these materials is an extensive introduction in which their provenance and significance are discussed. There the editor explains the reasons for his conclusion that the *Casus* is primarily a law teacher's book of notes, tending to show that practical methods of instruction in the common law were in use a generation before England's legal profession is thought to have come of age. The editor also advances his view that the *Casus* marks the first step in medieval law reporting, for parts of it seem to have been put together from notes which were made in court and which even included the judges' words in direct and indirect quotation. The reports which make up the second group are of the same nature as the Year Books of 1292 *et seq.*, and their existence sets back the beginnings of Year Book reporting by twenty years. A detailed analysis of these reports leads Professor Dunham to the conclusion that they too grew out of the habit of taking notes on actual cases, for educational purposes, probably in court. Such notes, he believes, were thereafter expanded into the vernacular report of an oral debate which is the distinctive mark of a Year Book. The two groups of materials are thus related to one another, and that relationship goes far to support Maitland's conclusion that "the object of the report from the very first is science, jurisprudence, the advancement of learning" (Selden Soc., XVII, p. x).

These materials have a further value, which lies beyond the areas of legal education and law reporting, but which is not brought out in the introduction. Containing as they do both precepts and notes made on actual cases in court, they have a good deal to tell us about the state of the law in mid-thirteenth-century England. Even a cursory inspection of the elaborate index (prepared by Professor Plucknett) will indicate how much this volume contains which can aid our understanding of the law of procedure, of persons, of property and inheritance. It would have been a service to scholars to have described the extent to which these materials modify or confirm the accepted outlines of medieval law drawn in the classic treatise of Pollock and Maitland.

University of Pennsylvania Law School

GEORGE L. HASKINS

THE IRISH PARLIAMENT IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By *H. G. Richardson* and *G. O. Sayles*. [Etudes présentées à la Commission internationale pour l'Histoire des Assemblées d'Etats, X.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1952. Pp. x, 395. \$8.50.)

THIS volume, the first full-length account of the medieval Irish parliament, appears as No. X of the Studies presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions (the official English title, since September, 1950, of the Commission "on Estates" set up in 1933 by the International Committee of Historical Sciences). The previous volume, published in Rome in 1949, was by Professor Antonio Marongiu and dealt with the medieval

parliaments of Italy. It was high time that the comparative method should be applied to the study of one of the basic institutions of Western democracy, and apart from its importance for Irish history, this book constantly stimulates the reader to seek parallels or contrasts.

In their previous volume of documents on the *Parliaments and Councils of Medieval Ireland* (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1947) the authors indicated the scattered and fragmentary character of the sources for the history of the Irish parliament. From such a partnership we can confidently count not only on an exhaustive pursuit of material but on the highest standards of scholarship, and from their laboriously accumulated facts they have constructed a living and reliable picture.

The history is, of course, one of colonial, not national institutions. The native Irish, excluded as a body from the English common law (though individuals could purchase equality), forbidden to hold benefices or to enter monasteries in the region controlled by England, had little or no concern with the king's parliament. They might occasionally address a petition to the king in parliament (p. 90) and one of them might irregularly be chosen knight of the shire, but the parliaments were made up of Anglo-Irish, and as the area of effective English government shrank, the number of counties, towns, and dioceses dwindled from a total of eleven counties, twenty-seven dioceses and ten towns represented in 1420, to four counties, seven dioceses, and five towns in the sixteenth century.

The authors set the development of the Irish parliament firmly in the framework of the general evolution of royal governmental institutions, which follows the pattern we know in England. The initial impulse is given when John, in his brother's lifetime, becomes the effective lord of Ireland, and we trace the development of the civil service and the growth of "government by writing"—the great invention of the twelfth century. An Exchequer is traceable by 1200, a Justice by 1207, with a Bench by the middle of the century, a Chancery between 1232 and 1244. The Council, first mentioned in 1217, is functioning as the central executive, containing, like its English counterpart, both feudal and official elements, and the "common counsel" of other magnates is called in when the granting of an aid is in question. In Ireland, as in England, 1254 is the point at which we first hear of representatives summoned to hear the king's request for aid to meet the costs of the Gascon war. Our authors suggest that the deliberate holding of parliaments in Ireland begins as the direct result of the demands at Oxford in 1258 (p. 58). The first assembly called a parliament was summoned in 1264; its proceedings have that characteristic blend of the judicial and the political which stamps the early parliament in England, and with the beginning of legislative activity the word *community*, so noticeable in England, emerges, though even more ambiguously. "*De communi consilio totius communitatis Hibernie fuerit provisum et ordinatum*" is the formula introducing the ordinance of 1265 that all men should have their prewar status

(p. 59). The summoning of representatives to parliaments is, as in England, incidental and inessential for long after this, and, even more than in England, taxation long continues to be matter for local negotiation or for nonparliamentary assemblies.

Throughout this carefully documented study, which includes a complete list of all the Irish parliaments from 1264 to 1495, we meet the recurrent themes of parallelism and contrast. Chapter 16, on the relation of Ireland to the English, gives the key to the contrasts. The English parliament could legislate for Ireland, the English courts could hear Irish cases, Irish ministers could be called to account for their conduct before the English parliament. Inevitably, Irish institutions could not equal the power or the prestige of those of England. In matters of finance and taxation later colonial problems seem foreshadowed. Who was to pay the costs of the wars against the native Irish? Here, say our authors, "a clash of principles was bedevilling Irish politics" (p. 82). Irish opinion looked to the lords of Ireland, especially the earls, to protect their own lands, and if they were there, and did their part, no extraordinary taxes would be necessary. But in England the fourteenth century saw the establishment of the principle that wars should be financed by taxes voted in parliament, and the English taxpayer had, in effect, been bearing the financial burden of the Irish wars when William of Windsor in 1370 raised a storm by persuading the Irish parliament to impose war taxes on the Irish. His justification is recorded at length in the documents printed, from the English exchequer rolls, in *Parliaments and Councils* (pp. 39-48; an entry undiscovered by M. V. Clarke when she discussed his career in 1932). The position of the justiciar again provokes a comparison with that of later colonial governors. He was a royal nominee, but according to a mythical "statute of Henry Fitz-Empress," which may or may not be identified with the Irish *Modus* (pp. 324-31), he might in an emergency be elected by the Irish Council, and this in fact was done more than once (pp. 108, 135, 155, 168, 256, 263).

As to the functions and powers of the later medieval parliaments, the revolution whereby the English baronage came in the fourteenth century to dominate the King's Council in parliament did not occur in Ireland (p. 71), but none the less the Irish parliaments became partly assimilated to the English. The forms become stereotyped round about 1370 (p. 76). Though the Commons' presence has become indispensable procedurally, "in large part, this is stage-management; the essential functions of parliament are performed by the lords" (p. 195), as in the Scottish parliament, though with other forms. If the minor part played by the Commons is the most significant contrast with the English parliament, the most striking difference in form concerns the clerical proctors. Whereas in England they ceased to attend parliaments in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, in Ireland their attendance began to be regular in the third quarter of the fourteenth century and continued down to 1537, when Henry VIII abolished it by statute.



It is impossible to do justice here to all the matters covered by this learned and fascinating work, and it may seem perverse to complain of a considered omission, but the observations on the *Modus tenendi parliamentum* on page 137 compel this reviewer to say that if that tract was to be cited at all, the reader deserves better treatment than to be told, without evidence, that the Irish version "infallibly" preceded the English, and that neither version "could have been written earlier than the reign of Richard II." M. V. Clarke, who, like T. Duffus Hardy and W. A. Morris, attributed the English *Modus* to the reign of Edward II, was the first to grasp the importance of the Irish *Modus*, and it is to her text that the authors refer us, but anyone who follows in her footsteps, so abruptly halted, must recognize that the problem of the relation to each other of the different versions, whether of the Irish or the English tract, whether in Latin or in French, calls for the most exact and careful editorial work. We have been looking, not without grounds, for such an edition from Mr. Richardson ever since he reviewed Miss Clarke's book in 1937 (*History*, 1937-38, pp. 67-69), and until the textual problems have been faced, no assumptions as to the date and no inferences from the contents of either tract should be accepted.

Of the arguments advanced here, that regarding amercements for absence is fully documented in chapter 10. The authors wisely observe that "it would be rash to say that wilful absence from parliament was never punished by amercement in England," but as "no evidence that fines were inflicted there has ever been produced" (p. 138) the correspondence of the passages in the English *Modus* with Irish practice looks impressive. But they do not seem to have noticed the statute of 5 Ric. II which provides that absentees from parliaments shall be amerced "as was anciently accustomed in the Kingdom of England." Again, no evidence is adduced for their statement that the writer of the *Modus*, in saying that the king was bound to pay the expenses of those below baronial status if he summoned them to his parliament, "evidently has in mind the principle advanced and accepted in Ireland at the close of Edward III's reign" (p. 137). It would appear that the reference is to the dictum of 1377 (quoted p. 120, n. 6, and further discussed on p. 131), that those who do not hold by barony are not amerced for absence. But this has nothing to do with the payment of expenses.

*Harvard University*

HELEN M. CAM

## Modern European History

THE LAW AND WORKING OF THE CONSTITUTION: DOCUMENTS 1660-1914. Volume I, 1660-1783. Volume II, 1784-1914. By W. C. Costin, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford, and J. Steven Watson, Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford. (London: Adam and Charles Black; New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. xviii, 465; xix, 531. \$9.50.)

THIS substantial collection of documents bearing upon English constitutional history during the period 1660-1914, is, we may assume, intended for use by students in British universities; they, having read the documents in Tanner, and Prothero, and Gardiner, will now continue their study of the modern constitution here, rather than in the older collections of Grant Robertson and of Dykes. Certainly this is a larger collection than any of the others mentioned and, except for Tanner's *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, more varied in the range of the material from which it has been drawn. Yet it is also, by design, narrower than the others.

"We have not," say the editors, "in the manner of some of our predecessors in this field, prefaced each of our documents or groups of documents with a set of notes, commentaries or asides of praise or blame. . . . Nor have we . . . attempted to write the constitutional history of two hundred and fifty years in some century or score of breathless pages . . . by way of guide or précis of what is to follow." Except for glossaries, cross-references, and occasional notes of identification, they give us the documents, and nothing but the documents. Moreover, the English constitution, as they conceive it, does not include the government of the empire or commonwealth.

To the commonly chosen statutes and constitutional cases they have made a few interesting, but necessarily minor, additions. More striking for their novelty, and for the information they give of the practical problems of government, are the many extracts from letters, speeches, memoirs, and political treatises. Monarchs, ministers, and lesser figures present to one another the constitutional issues of the day. Bagehot or Maitland makes his analysis. By this means we learn much of the development of cabinet government in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and of the problems arising from the reform of the House of Commons. One important topic only is omitted: the arguments concerning representation in government which preceded passage of the Reform Act of 1832.

Omission of so obvious a topic is presumably deliberate, and serves to remind the reader that the editors work to the measure of their own sound definition of English constitutional history. In these two excellent volumes the editors show that their definition, though traditional, gives opportunity for new and vivid illustration.

Cornell University

F. G. MARCHAM

THE PUBLIC CAREER OF SIR JAMES GRAHAM. By *Arvel B. Erickson*, Professor of History, Western Reserve University. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell; Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press. 1952. Pp. vii, 433. \$4.50.)

SIR James Graham stands as a pivotal, though not a particularly appealing, figure in the world of early and mid-Victorian politics. From Professor Erickson's account he emerges as an admirable representative of the Victorian compromise,

more typical, indeed, than some of the better-known party leaders. Although Graham could never entirely divest himself of his aristocratic Whiggishness, his political credo was substantially that of the mass of ten-pound householders, insofar as these were Anglicans—the middle-class franchise, free trade, economy in government, efficient administration, the Protestant establishment, and moderate reform. And to these fixed points he adhered throughout his career.

Graham's contributions to the "Age of Reform," as Professor Erickson has described them, form an impressive record and supply further evidence, if such were needed, of the capacity of the Victorians for concentrated effort. Admittedly he lacked some of the qualities necessary for parliamentary statesmanship. Stiff and aloof almost to the point of pompousness and unable to conceal his contempt for lesser talents, he was never quite as effective on the floor of the House as his unexcelled knowledge of the public business and his skill in marshaling a case should have made him. But the century produced few public administrators of greater ability. The house cleaning to which he subjected the Admiralty in the 1830's was followed by a period of constructive activity at the home office as a member of the great Peel government. Graham's tenure as home secretary, when he was called upon to translate into administrative machinery the reforms that were being spread upon the statute book, had a good deal to do with establishing the British tradition of public administration.

Yet along with Graham's undeniable administrative gifts went a certain rigidity in his political ideas or, perhaps more accurately, in his political behavior. Although, as Professor Erickson points out, he was never the real doctrinaire and was always accessible to the argument from facts, one does not sense in Graham a capacity for the kind of growth that is the earmark of great political leaders. Notwithstanding two or three changes of party (depending on how one regards the Peelite phase) his essential political outlook remained about what it had been in the late '20's, save for the addition of free trade. All this implies a certain deficiency in ordinary human sympathy and understanding. One feels that Graham would always have sacrificed the individual to the system.

In re-examining Graham's service to the Victorian state, Professor Erickson has drawn not only on the parliamentary and Record Office material but also on the Graham papers at Netherby, some of which were apparently missed by C. S. Parker. He has written a solid, useful book, though not one that challenges the reader with new perspectives or commands his attention by new insights. Nor has he wholly succeeded in avoiding the dangers implicit in his method. Biography can provide a fruitful approach to administrative history. But unless they are skillfully handled, the hero and his committees can get in each other's way so that neither emerges with clarity. Since Graham was a public servant of multifarious concerns, problems of unity and emphasis must have been difficult. Professor Erickson has not been able to solve them at all points. But he has re-established Sir James Graham as a leader of greater stature than it has been the fashion to consider him. Whether, next to Peel, he "deserves to be ranked as the

ablest man in English public life in the years from Waterloo until his death in 1861" will depend on how one defines ability.

*Harvard University*

DAVID OWEN

THE POLITICAL CORRESPONDENCE OF MR. GLADSTONE AND LORD GRANVILLE, 1868-1876. Volume I, 1868-71. Volume II, 1871-76. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by *Agatha Ramm*. [Camden Third Series, Volumes LXXXI and LXXXII.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1952. Pp. xix, 246; v, 247-518.)

THIS collection of letters begins with the organization of Gladstone's first ministry in December, 1868, and ends in the spring of 1876 when the attitude of both correspondents toward the Royal Titles Bill and the Turkish question aroused Queen Victoria's anger. In the Gladstone government of 1868-1874 Lord Granville served first as colonial and later as foreign secretary. When in 1875 Gladstone temporarily retired from politics his post as leader of the Liberal party was taken over jointly by Lord Granville and his cousin, Lord Hartington, later eighth duke of Devonshire.

Although Gladstone and Granville were close political friends, in character, temperament, and habits of work they differed radically. Granville was careless, easy-going, lackadaisical, and willing "to let sleeping dogs lie." Gladstone, on the other hand, though eager, fiery, and a crusader, was also efficient and methodical. His original and powerful mind ranged over a large number of subjects. Still in many respects Gladstone and Granville complemented each other. For all his innate courtesy the former, who was generally involved in some controversy, often failed to appreciate the limitations of other people's interests and the slowness of their mental processes. Granville was neither quick-witted nor strong-minded; he was a courtier and a man of the world, smooth and tactful in private as well as official relations. A peace-maker in council, he possessed much practical wisdom.

The complementary aspects of their relationship stand clearly revealed in the volumes under review. A very high percentage of the letters exchanged between them relates to intragovernment problems, how to deal with colleagues as well as with the queen, and with parliamentary and party strategy. While on topics generally classified as high politics, such as those relating to foreign affairs and international relations, the letters published for the first time do little more than fill interstices, the letters are of great value for the study of the inner working of the British government when Gladstone was in office. The editor observes what has been noted by all who have worked with the private papers of Gladstone and Granville, that discussions by them of important issues were generally reserved for private conferences.

As might be expected, the editor has made her transcriptions mainly from the original letters; only occasionally has she used the copies in the letter books kept

by Gladstone when in office. These books might perhaps have been used more extensively. The reviewer has found one letter missing which he at one time transcribed from these letter books: in this letter, dated February 3, 1871, Gladstone expressed less concern over the indemnity demanded by Germany from France than over the transfer of human beings without consulting their wishes. It is therefore of importance to students of Gladstone's foreign policy.

Miss Ramm has provided the volumes with an excellent, informative, and thought-provoking introduction. The letters are admirably edited, and she has noted some, but by no means all, of the places where letters or parts of them have already appeared in print. Miss Ramm calls attention to a few errors in the arrangement of Gladstone letters, and she has placed all students of the history of the Gladstonian era in her debt by carefully identifying persons mentioned in this correspondence.

*University of Wisconsin*

PAUL KNAPLUND

SAINTS IN POLITICS: THE "CLAPHAM SECT" AND THE GROWTH OF FREEDOM. By *Ernest Marshall Howse*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 215. \$5.00.)

THIS book is a summary of the political and social reforms achieved by the "Clapham Sect," and an attempted vindication of them against the strictures of writers like the Hammonds. Dr. Howse regards the "Saints" as "essentially liberal." "They have not generally received credit for being as liberal as they really were."

The summary is clear and adequate, though there is little new material in it. The attempt at vindication is hardly successful. It is not a question, as Dr. Howse implies, of criticizing the Sect "by the standards of twentieth-century socialism." For the ideas of such men as, among others, Fox, Romilly, Mackintosh, Bentham and Lord Holland—or, one might add, Tom Paine and William Cobbett—provide sufficient basis for an evaluation both humane and contemporary.

It may be true, as Dr. Howse asserts, that the Hammonds were "quite incapable of understanding what religion meant" to a man like Wilberforce; but if so, it means that religion is here interpreted in a purely private and personal sense. As far as the political and social results of religious belief—in this case, Evangelicalism—are concerned, the masterly analysis of the Hammonds is still convincing; nor is it seriously called in question by anything in this book. To call this analysis "viciously untrue to the real Wilberforce" seems to the present reviewer quite unfair. It must be remembered that the Hammonds explicitly reject any suggestion of hypocrisy in this connection. Nor is it fair to accuse them, whatever one may say of Hazlitt, of "sneering." Dr. Howse, on the other hand, finds "sparkle and brilliance" in the edifying platitudes of Hannah More.

The book chiefly disappoints by its failure to suggest any plausible psychology by which we may understand the Clapham Sect. How is it that people can be

deeply moved by sufferings they have never seen, yet remain relatively indifferent to an immediate misery which surrounds them? Dr. Howse defends so unusual a displacement of emotion as being a "far rarer virtue" than the normal impulse to succor present and immediate distress. And what about the implications of the question (which he himself quotes twice) so jauntily flung by Wilberforce at his friend, Henry Thornton, on the night of the Abolition triumph: "Well, Henry, what shall we abolish next?" To which Henry replied: "The lottery, I think." One is reminded irresistibly of Macaulay's remark about the Puritans.

There can be no possible question of the immense debt owed by humanity to the "Saints." The abolition, alike of the slave trade and of slavery itself, is their everlasting memorial, as Dr. Howse abundantly establishes. He also mentions that as individuals they were not indifferent to all aspects of domestic reform (climbing boys, game laws, press gang, etc.). The curious thing, however, is that these urgent problems never seriously engaged their collective imagination or called forth any effort comparable to that involved in Abolition. *What the eye hath not seen, the heart doth not grieve over.* Why was the Clapham Sect so conspicuous an exception to this rule? Dr. Howse rejects the only plausible explanation, but offers none to take its place.

University of Washington

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN

THE LIFE OF GEORGE LANSBURY. By *Raymond Postgate*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1951. Pp. xiii, 332. \$4.75.)

BEATRICE WEBB'S DIARIES, 1912-1924. Edited by *Margaret I. Cole*. With an Introduction by the Rt. Hon. *Lord Beveridge*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1952. Pp. xxvi, 272. \$5.00.)

THESE books deal with lives that exemplify two of the motives which led individuals into the British labor movement. The biography is of a warm-hearted humanitarian whose selfless devotion was rewarded by a popular affection seldom bestowed upon a politician. The diarist was an intellectual to whom mankind was an object of study and experiment. Both contributed much to the making of the Labour party.

Lansbury's story is told by a son-in-law who was a close associate in his newspaper and literary ventures. The prevailing tone is one of admiration. Equally manifest is a leftist point of view toward statesmen of the older parties and toward the official leaders of both the Labour party and the Trades Union Congress. He emphasizes the purity of Lansbury's motives and the religious basis of his politics but freely admits that he could be sentimental, unreasonable, impetuous, and quarrelsome. These defects were apparent in his early years when he visited Australia and Ireland and brought back emotions rather than facts, in 1920 when the sight of Russia so dazzled him that his views were long tinted by a



heavy rose color, and in his last years when personal visits to Hitler and Mussolini resulted in such easy self-deception. Lansbury's services are, nevertheless, rightly emphasized—the early socialist pioneering, his efforts in behalf of the East London poor, his central position in the labor movement in 1919 and afterwards when his *Daily Herald* provided a leadership that did not come from a weakened parliamentary party, and his work after 1931 when universal trust in him provided a rallying force for shattered Labour.

Mrs. Webb's *Diaries* in effect constitute a third volume of autobiography and supply a valuable source book for labor history. It reveals the Webb partnership still active, with Sidney, the optimistic member, happy and rejoicing in his work, but with Beatrice having many ups and downs and erroneously convinced that her end was not far off. In this period the Webbs were much less interested than formerly in permeation, so the names of Conservative and Liberal chiefs appear with less frequency than in *Our Partnership*. There is a surprising lack of mention of the world-shaking events of the period, but there is much on the labor movement. At first the references are not enthusiastic. The trade union leadership is repeatedly stigmatized as complacent, stupid, and timid, while of the Labour party in 1912 she wrote that "it is a poor thing, but our own," so they would have to work with it. A change came, however, with the cabinet crisis of 1917 and the ejection of Arthur Henderson, because the latter then turned to Sidney Webb for help in creating a party that would be capable of becoming His Majesty's Government. Sidney was happy in this role and, now that a place was being found for middle-class brains, Beatrice became optimistic. In the election of 1923 neither foresaw the possibility of a Labour government as the outcome. The volume closes with some interesting anecdotes of MacDonald cabinet making.

There are many pen portraits and references to old Fabians, politicians of all parties, Continental socialists, and visiting Russians. Russia was not yet viewed as a new civilization but as "the servile state in being," while the only reference to the appalling famine there is a statement that rather than draw upon limited funds for the relief of its sufferers she personally would prefer to keep some German and Austrian professors alive. Like many other liberals of the 1920's she had no appreciation of the problem confronting France; "wholly uninterested" there, she was again more concerned with German recovery.

Lord Beveridge supplies an introduction and Mrs. Cole's notes provide a helpful "who's who" for the labor movement.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

PORTRAIT OF AN ADMIRAL: THE LIFE AND PAPERS OF SIR HERBERT RICHMOND. By *Arthur J. Marder*, University of Hawaii. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. 407. \$6.00.)

This book emphasizes the modern tendency to devote almost all military planning to questions of materiel, with consequent neglect of history and other

subjects which are essential to the success of officers in all higher military commands. It presents, in forceful language, the late Admiral Richmond's idea that a naval officer cannot spend years thinking only of materiel problems, and, then, upon being promoted to the rank of rear admiral, suddenly discover that he has been endowed miraculously with a broad knowledge of tactics, strategy, and naval history.

The book includes a biographical essay of 31 pages; 319 pages of extracts from Richmond's diary, 1909-1920; 33 pages of notes; and an index of persons. Evidently Professor Marder expects the reader to form his own portrait of the admiral from the diary entries, aided by the biographical essay and notes which he gives us. Marder describes Richmond as "perhaps the ablest officer of his generation," and accuses the Admiralty of grave error in failing to assign him to more important positions during and after the war. He quotes Richmond as calling himself a "mutineer" and implies that a great career was ruined because of zeal and outspokenness. The record does not justify such a conclusion. Becoming a rear admiral in 1920, he spent three years as president of the Naval War College, followed by two years as commander in chief of the East Indies Station. A vice admiral and K.C.B. in 1925, he was the first commandant of the Imperial Defence College, 1926-1928. He was promoted admiral before retirement. He served as Vere Harmsworth Professor of Naval History at Cambridge, 1934-1936, and master of Downing College, Cambridge, for ten years prior to his death.

Highly educated, imaginative, and brilliantly clever, Richmond was a practical seaman as well as a student of naval history, strategy, and tactics. Besides his historical writing he produced a number of brief, elementary articles and books designed primarily for the layman. Marder believes that his masterpiece is *Statesmen and Seapower*, an expansion of lectures delivered at Oxford, 1943.

The diary material is described as of "immense historical importance," but the extracts selected scarcely justify this claim. There is a tendency to assume that all of Richmond's opinions, as recorded in his diary, are correct beyond question, although many contrary views were held.

Washington, D. C.

JOHN B. HEFFERNAN

THE DOMESTIC LIFE OF SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Marjorie Plant*. [Edinburgh University Publications: History, Philosophy and Economics, Number 2.] (Edinburgh: University Press. 1952. Pp. xi, 319. 25s.)

THIS book covers some of the ground that has already been traversed in Graham's *Social Life of Scotland in the 18th Century*, and many familiar themes and examples reappear. There is also, however, much that is new. Considerable use has been made of unpublished sources in the National Library of Scotland and of family papers published since the earlier work. The result is a lively account of eighteenth-century Scotland.

It is not, of course, as generous in its sweep as Graham's work. "Domestic life" has been strictly construed as what went on in and around the home. We might regard this almost as a housewife's view of life. The reader is seldom taken beyond the boundaries of the family garden, and then only for brief excursions. Social relationships, economic activities, and religious habits, for example, do not receive much more than incidental attention.

There are advantages in this restricted approach. The author has been able to describe in illuminating detail many things—like the methods of firing and lighting, of washing and of making soap—which have to be passed over in works of broader scope. In the book are included valuable descriptions of family relationships, of the kitchen, of housework, and of kindred subjects, and throughout there is a vividness in this representation of Scottish life which could hardly be improved upon except perhaps by the inclusion of pictorial illustrations.

At the same time the question may be asked whether the picture is not too flattering. Was the reality in eighteenth-century Scotland as pleasant as is suggested here? The author herself has pointed out that "in discussing the food of bygone days it is much easier to describe party fare than ordinary, everyday meals," and she seems to have followed the line of least resistance by writing a great deal more about the well-to-do than about ordinary people. There can be no objection to this in itself, and indeed it is a valuable corrective to the traditionally gloomy picture of this period to realize that even in the early part of the century some people in Scotland contrived to lead happy and pleasant lives, but there is in consequence a danger that the more prosperous way of life may be regarded as commoner than it actually was.

From her study the author draws no conclusions. Here and there throughout the book suggestive comparisons are made with conditions in other parts of Europe, but nothing more is said regarding the implications or the importance of the way in which the Scottish people lived. Is it not reasonable to expect that some attention should be paid to the significance of this wealth of domestic detail?

California Institute of Technology

DAVID C. ELLIOT

A HISTORY OF IRELAND UNDER THE UNION, 1801 TO 1922: WITH AN EPILOGUE CARRYING THE STORY DOWN TO THE ACCEPTANCE IN 1927 BY DE VALERA OF THE ANGLO-IRISH TREATY OF 1921. By P. S. O'Hegarty. (London: Methuen and Company; New York: British Book Centre. 1952. Pp. xii, 811. \$9.50.)

THE title of this work is somewhat misleading, owing to the fact that it does not give a real picture of what the book has as its aim. Although called a *History of Ireland under the Union*, it is actually a history of Irish nationalism since 1801. The author has devoted only one very short chapter to economics and social affairs, and even this chapter is for the purpose of demonstrating the righteousness of the Nationalist cause. A work devoted to all sides of Irish history during the period

would have been extremely valuable, but this was by no means Mr. O'Hegarty's aim.

The purpose of the book is to portray the efforts of the Irish nation, and that does not necessarily include the so-called English ascendancy, to bring about the overthrow of the union forced upon Ireland by Pitt. In doing this, the author has given us detailed studies of the various nationalistic movements from the time of the union down to the achievement of national independence. The work of O'Connell, Parnell, Davis, Griffiths, has been set forth in very considerable detail with an effort being made to give us clear and as thorough a picture as possible. In fact, one might say that this is probably one of the most detailed studies of these men and their work that has yet been written. At the same time, O'Hegarty makes clear his own point of view, his utter distrust and rejection of anything which the British government might do or attempt, as well as anything which, as he would probably call them, "Traitorous Irishmen" backing the British government would advise. He himself is very critical of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, being prepared at times to accuse it of selling Ireland out. Similarly, he gives his benediction and blessing to the Protestants who have stood for the Nationalist cause, willing to line up with the Catholic Nationalists in support of a genuinely Irish policy. In this respect his biggest weakness would seem to be that he fails to realize the terrible fear of the North that its religious liberty and rights would be suppressed if the South gained control. With the example of some other countries, where a Catholic majority has endeavored to curtail religious freedom, the Protestants in the North have been, and still are, very much disturbed at the idea that they may be subject to a Catholic majority. O'Hegarty seems to regard such an attitude as one of bigotry and narrow-mindedness. But the fact is, there exists a very real fear of what might happen, which explains to a very considerable extent the attitude of a good many Protestants who opposed the union.

Although clearly stating his point of view, Mr. O'Hegarty has backed up his position with large amounts of detailed historical material culled from the printed sources of the period. In fact, there are so many quotations from the *Nation*, *Wellington's Dispatches*, from letters, and from books, that the reader is in danger of losing the thread of the story. As a consequence, too, the book is considerably longer than necessary. Yet it is obvious that the author is endeavoring, as far as possible, to support his thesis: that during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, Ireland did not receive good or fair treatment.

As one reads about the Irish difficulties, one can not help feeling that Britain is perhaps today facing somewhat the same situation in Scotland and Wales, where small groups of nationalists are insisting that their countries should have the right to control their own internal affairs. Such a work as this might well be a warning to British statesmen. Although for a time apathy and indifference on the part of a large part of the people may be a protection, nevertheless there is always the danger that a small, active, well-organized minority may cause trouble,

resulting in a division of the country, if, before too late, some form of devolution is not introduced.

*McGill University*

W. STANFORD REID

HISTORY OF BIRMINGHAM. Volume I, MANOR AND BOROUGH TO 1865. By *Conrad Gill*, Emeritus Professor of History in the University College of Hull; formerly Reader in Constitutional History in the University of Birmingham. Volume II, BOROUGH AND CITY, 1865-1938. By *Asa Briggs*, Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford; Reader in Recent Social and Economic History in the University of Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press for the Birmingham City Council. 1952. Pp. xiii, 454; x, 384. \$13.00.)

BIRMINGHAM intended to celebrate the centenary of its incorporation with a history of the development of the city from earliest to modern times. Through misadventure and delay the appearance of this history was postponed from 1938 to 1952. The loss in time, however, would seem more than made up by the elegance and quality of the work. Set in modern Baskerville type in recognition of the Birmingham printer, generously and tastefully illustrated by over one hundred plates, enriched by a table of events and several appendixes, the two volumes give to the story of Birmingham the scope and motion deserved by the important annals of that great city.

The first of the two volumes deals with the period from the era of the Anglo-Saxon settlement to 1865—in reality from pre-manor to borough. This is the period of which—certainly in its first part—least is known. Professor Gill is able to turn this lack of specific information into a virtue by drawing upon his vast knowledge of the general history and circumstances of the times, thus making of his task a delightful venture in local history that brings us all too quickly to the age of steam and to the increasingly complex problems of industrialization and municipal organization. As he sweeps through the various phases of the economic, social, and political development of the city, glimpses are caught of those solid figures, good businessmen and civic benefactors, who presided over the troublesome period of transition from town to city.

This period coincides largely with the establishment by parliamentary act of the Board of Street Commissioners in 1769; proceeds by additional improvement acts adding local powers to the commissioners; and comes to an end with the granting of the charter in 1839 and the gradual shift of power from the commissioners to the members of the borough council during the period from 1839 to 1851.

The second volume—1865-1938—lacks the spaciousness and, as a consequence, some of the interest of the first. It is of necessity much concerned with trams, with expansion of the city's boundaries, with housing estates, and the unending urban effort to make tolerable the gnawing irritations of congestion. While

thousands of individuals kept turning out the small objects of the local crafts and skills and others became busily engaged upon automobiles, electric motors, and chemicals, one catches too seldom the initiative and leadership of the Chamberlains, the Dales, and the Cadburys of a remarkable cluster of civic great.

All in all, the authors reflect some light from every facet of the city's growth and succeed remarkably well in showing the consistency of the smaller pattern of urban history with the larger one of national history. The writing is firm and vigorous, often engaging and seldom tedious; the conception is large and well adapted to the scope and intricacies of the problem; and the execution is deft and pleasing. The Corporation of Birmingham has here no cause to complain of its servants.

*University of North Carolina*

JAMES L. GODFREY

A HISTORY OF PORTUGAL. By *Charles E. Nowell*. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1952. Pp. xii, 259. \$4.50.)

THIS book is a sketch of Portuguese history from the earliest times to the end of 1951. Of the eight centuries with which Professor Nowell's sixteen chapters and 250 pages are concerned, the first two chapters cover the period down to the battle of Aljubarrota and the accession of King John I. Another seven chapters deal with the rule of the House of Aviz and the Portuguese golden age, including overseas expansion, Camões, and sixteenth-century culture. The "Babylonian Captivity" of 1580-1640 and the first four kings of the House of Braganza are discussed in the next two chapters, and another one deals with Pombal's dictatorship and the ensuing years until the French invasion of 1807. The remaining four chapters cover the last 150 years and include a brief glance at the nineteenth-century expansion in Africa. The book is provided with a selected bibliography and an index of names.

The introduction strikes exactly the right note and could hardly be bettered. Professor Nowell has maintained throughout a judicious impartiality and he has some shrewd observations to make, but the book contains a fair crop of slips and misstatements. For instance, the statement (p. 136) that "from first to last, the three Hapsburg Philips who governed Portugal thought of themselves as Spaniards with a vassal kingdom to exploit in the national and imperial interests of Spain" is an unfair exaggeration, at any rate as regards Philip II. On page 143 a most inaccurate account is given of the Dutch attack on Mozambique in 1608, and it was the Spaniards from Manila and not the Portuguese themselves who drove the Dutch from (a part only) of the Moluccas in 1606. The Portuguese never conquered Raja Sinha nor held all of Ceylon (as erroneously stated on page 144), nor did the English ever fortify "the Sunda group commanding the Malacca straits" as alleged on page 145. Recife fell to the Dutch a few days after their capture of Olinda in 1630, and not five years later as stated on page 146. The statement on page 166 that Pombal became a convert to Jansenism "while in



the Netherlands" will surprise many people, as there is no record that he ever visited the Low Countries. From the footnotes, it is evident that Professor Nowell has relied heavily on Fortunato de Almeida's *Historia*, and he might with advantage have made more use of the Barcelos *Historia*, which he lists in his bibliography. It is not evident why Professor Nowell cites a Spanish translation of Queiroz Veloso's biography of Dom Sebastian instead of the Portuguese original, or why he uses such out-of-date works as M. D'Antas' *Les faux Don Sebastien* (1886) and T. Smith's *Life of the Marquis of Pombal* (1843), when the much better and more recent works of J. Lucio d'Azevedo are readily available. For the complete beginner in Portuguese history, Professor Nowell's book has its points as a shorter and more up-to-date alternative to the works of H. Livermore, G. Young and H. Morse Stephens, but it cannot be said to supersede them.

University of London

C. R. BOXER

A SHORT HISTORY OF SWITZERLAND. By *E. Bonjour*, Professor of Swiss History in the University of Basel; *H. S. Ofler*, Reader in Medieval History in the Durham Colleges of the University of Durham; and *G. R. Potter*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Sheffield. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. 388. \$7.00.)

English-speaking students of Swiss history, who until now have had to be satisfied with texts in German (e.g., Largiadier) or in French (e.g., Martin), will welcome this fluently written and beautifully printed history of Switzerland. In view of the abundance and complexities of sometimes purely local details that make up Swiss history, it seems amazing that two Englishmen should have set themselves the task of digesting all this wealth of information. They have presented it, clearly and succinctly, in the first eight chapters of the book, from the Celts and the Romans to the outbreak of the French Revolution. The last four chapters, the interpretation of modern Switzerland from the fall of the old confederacy in 1798 to the present day, were properly assigned to a Swiss scholar, Professor Edgar Bonjour, of the University of Basel.

The very first chapter, "The Country and Its People," an excellent piece of work, indicates the broad basis of this book, for it goes beyond the political and military developments to include striking discussions of the commercial, technical, and cultural evolution of Switzerland, too. Such breadth, on the one hand, makes for an enviable thoroughness and completeness of presentation, though the abundance of facts and the dispassionate tone of the true historian on the other hand at times make us wish for a livelier pace and for a neater emphasis on lights and shadows. Not only the Swiss but also the foreigner familiar with certain episodes might like to find a more colorful or dramatic presentation of battles like Morgarten, heroes like Winkelried, peacemakers like Nikolaus von der Flüe, lost causes like the Swiss guards during the French Revolution or the retreat over the Beresina. The discussion of the pros and cons

in the legend of William Tell, however, is excellent in its objectivity, and the presentation of the greatness of Zwingli and of the international implications of his tragic death is about the best I have ever read.

The supreme significance of the one great lesson Swiss history can teach us all has been brought out very poignantly by all three contributors: how, through trial and error, peoples of different races, languages, and creeds must learn the secret of living together in peace and mutual respect. While all of us, in this critical postwar era of League of Nations and United Nations, unreservedly and sincerely pay homage to the noble example set by this great little country, we are somewhat less convinced of the perpetual soundness of the second great motto mentioned besides solidarity, namely, neutrality. Swiss neutrality was more than justified so long as battles raged in the very heart of Europe and the belligerents, the Germans and the French, the Italians and the Austrians, were brothers of the Swiss, and in Christian need of help and reconciliation. Now, however, that the issue is so clearly drawn between Western democracy and a semi-Mongolian type of despotism, it seems strange indeed that Switzerland, the mother of democracy, in many respects the very incarnation of Europe's liberal creed, should persist in a blind, albeit idealistic, aloofness that may well be suicidal. It is to be regretted that Mr. Bonjour, well known for his earlier work, *Histoire de la neutralité suisse* (1949), could not adduce better arguments in defense of a policy which was undoubtedly right until 1945, but which, I most sincerely believe, is no longer so today.

University of North Carolina

WERNER P. FRIEDERICH

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. By J. M. Thompson, Honorary Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 463. \$6.00.)

THIS is the first attempt in about forty years, by an eminent historian writing in English, to produce a comprehensive biography of Napoleon Bonaparte. It is important, therefore, to judge as fairly as possible what it does and does not do. The author, Professor J. M. Thompson, who reached the age of retirement at Oxford some years ago, is the leading British authority on the French Revolution. In particular, his two volumes on Robespierre (1935) revealed an understanding and even sympathy for the Revolution not exactly usual at Oxford, and a thorough familiarity with the monographic work of Mathiez and other contemporary specialists in the subject.

The present book is of a different kind. Professor Thompson does not claim, as has been intimated by some of his more impressionable reviewers, to base his life of Napoleon on "the latest researches." He does, indeed, often cite the works of Guyot, Godechot, Lefebvre, and others. But the references are not very specific; the problems raised, or theses stated, by these authorities are not dealt with; it is doubtful whether Godechot or Lefebvre, or Guyot if he were alive, would recog-

nize any influence of his own in the present book. Professor Thompson, who knows the size of this secondary literature, and who does not have his life before him, has elected to do something else. He presents us with a life of Napoleon derived mainly from Napoleon's own correspondence. This is certainly his privilege, since he knows more about Napoleon's correspondence than anyone else in England or America. In 1934, when he published a selection of Napoleon's letters, he estimated the number of extant and printed Napoleonic letters at 41,000.

The concentration on Napoleon's own letters, reinforced by memoirs of the period, determines the character of the work. It is a biography, rather than a history of Europe at the time. It is narrative rather than explanatory. The light falls on Bonaparte, and even on his daily doings, movements, and utterances; the more permanent forces, basic conditions and broader issues, and the aims of other governments and even of the French government before Bonaparte took it over, remain relatively dim. The chief weakness, even for biography, and admitting that the book is not a history of the period, is that we are not made to understand why Napoleon had so many supporters, not only in France but in Italy, Germany, Poland, and elsewhere. Why did Sir Samuel Romilly, the English law reformer, express admiration for Bonaparte as late as 1810? Why did the *Junker*, von Marwitz, complain that the burghers of Berlin were disgracefully pro-French in 1806? What social interests or bodies of ideas did Napoleon represent—and, one may add, betray? Mr. Thompson has of course pondered these questions. But writing in the shadow of Adolf Hitler, he inclines to see Bonaparte more exclusively as the oppressive dictator and conqueror than he did twenty years ago. The famous letter to Jerome Bonaparte, outlining reforms for the new kingdom of Westphalia, printed as No. 153 of Mr. Thompson's collection of 1934, is not even mentioned in the present book. Institutional and intellectual changes in Germany in the Napoleonic years are treated in three pages.

Clearly Mr. Thompson is not to be fooled by the Napoleonic legend. Yet at times, in his effort to be fair, he accepts more of it than need be. He seems to hold that Bonaparte's "instinct was right" in Italy in 1796-97; others have seen these events as a classic instance of subversion of civilian by military authority. He holds that "Bonaparte understood France" and that the French identified themselves with him from 1804 to 1814; biographers of Talleyrand tell a different story. The idea that most Frenchmen in 1814 had long insisted on the Rhine frontier would seem to be somewhat Bonapartist. The idea that Napoleon was defeated in 1813-14 by the "patriotism of Germans, Russians and Swedes in a *Befreiungskrieg*" has been questioned by Mr. Thompson's own successor at Oxford, A. J. P. Taylor.

What we have, then, is a life of Napoleon, very close to Napoleon the man, making extensive use of his own words, and concentrating on events and problems which he himself was able to see. As such, it is an interesting and authoritative work. But there is still room either for a translation of Lefebvre's *Napoléon*, which is a true history of the era, or for an attempt by someone else to write such

a history. For American undergraduates, pressed for time, Geoffrey Bruun's short book still offers the most useful introduction.

Princeton University

R. R. PALMER

VERSAILLES UND WIEN VON LUDWIG XIV. BIS KAUNITZ: DIE VORSTADIEN DER DIPLOMATISCHEN REVOLUTION IM 18. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Max Braubach*. [Bonner Historische Forschungen, Band 2.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag. 1952. Pp. xi, 480. DM 31.50.)

PROFESSOR Braubach is well known for his research on the period covered by this book, as well as on the personality of Prince Eugene of Savoy. In this, his latest work, he sets out to present the history, and background, of the diplomatic revolution, the famous "*renversement des alliances*," carried out by Prince Kaunitz in 1756. French historians, like Sorel, Bourgeois, Deschanel, have been aware that the concept of changing sides in the European power-struggle, of fighting London instead of Vienna, together with the enemy of many centuries, did not appear all of a sudden. It is the task, hitherto unattempted, of Professor Braubach to present the full story of this development, its Austrian as well as French aspects, based largely on unpublished primary sources in the archives of Paris, Vienna, and little-known Neuwied. Apart from Braubach's own earlier contributions to this problem the period concerned in the volume under review has been treated in works by Austrian historians such as Hantsch on the vice-chancellor of the empire, Schönborn (1929), and Srbik on Vienna and Versailles, 1692-97 (1944).

Braubach starts his narrative before the period of Prince Eugene with the secret treaty of 1668, that "*beau coup . . . qui surprendrait bien agréablement toute la Chrétienté*" (p. 11); he stresses correctly that the idea always emphasized in such attempts to further the cause of Catholicism by uniting the two great Catholic powers against the Protestant world was much more on the lips than in the minds of those striving to bring about the "diplomatic revolution." The question of an alliance with France was to remain a major problem of the Austrian diplomats throughout the nineteenth century and reference was made to the community of religion whenever such negotiations were begun; however, excepting a few short-lived intervals which proved of no consequence, the goal was never reached in spite of Hübner and the younger Metternich.

Along the same line attempts were repeatedly made during the first part of the eighteenth century, and some of them showed promise of success. Negotiations toward such an end as those, for example, of 1714, initiated by men of the stature of Prince Eugene and the maréchal Villars, certainly evoke the interest of the reader. In analyzing them Professor Braubach gives due attention to the shifting power constellations in Europe which partly explain why the *pourparlers* remained abortive. However, they were taken up again. Montesquieu wrote in their favor as did the abbé de Saint-Pierre, the author of projects for an eternal peace (pp. 139 f.). Even at that time Vienna was striving to overcome an uneasy

feeling of being isolated, a feeling that is characteristic of much of Austrian nineteenth-century policy. New light is thrown in Professor Braubach's volume on the political attitudes of Leopold I and especially Charles VI; for this the ground had been prepared through the research of Benedikt and Mecenseffy. As for the policy of Prince Eugene, the presentation in *Versailles und Wien* justifies in the eyes of the reviewer the reservations Dr. Paul R. Sweet made in a discriminating article in the *American Historical Review* (LVII [October, 1951], 47-62) in regard to the discussion of this subject by Srbik.

The story of how a noble of the small and little-known German court of Wied was instrumental in bringing about the alliance between Versailles and Vienna through intrigues worthy of dramatization by Scribe is in full harmony with the political atmosphere of that age. The section most revealing to the historian is probably the one dedicated to the last of the French political cardinals, Fleury, whose partner in Vienna—though no match for the diplomatist of Versailles—was the secretary of state, Bartenstein. (Additional information on Bartenstein can be found in Friedrich Walter, *Männer um Maria Theresia*, Vienna, 1951.) Once more the alliance was not established, but Fleury might not have appreciated the praise of an admirer: "*ad pedes cardinalis Casa Austria*" (p. 349); he knew better. He probably knew better about the true interests of France at that moment; yet, having grown too weak, in order to ensure victory he chose to surrender his conviction rather than his position.

The last section, on the final "*renversement des alliances*" as accomplished by Kaunitz, is based largely on printed material; yet the full meaning of the achievement and the "*génie supérieur*" of Kaunitz come to light against the historical background of the "diplomatic revolution." A biography of Prince Kaunitz based on the primary sources remains a serious desideratum. It will not prove easy to carry out this task; but the work of Professor Braubach here reviewed is an important contribution to that end.

*Catholic University of America*

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

KURBAYERN IN DER LETZTEN EPOCHE DER ALTEN REICHSSVERFASSUNG, 1745-1801. By *Hans Rall*. [Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte, Band 45.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1952. Pp. xxiii, 640. DM 36.)

THE background of Bavaria's emergence in the nineteenth century as a highly egoistic state with the rank of kingdom provides the subject matter of this book. It is the author's thesis that neither the personal performances of the eighteenth-century Kurfürsten nor the positing of a developmental process affords sufficient explanation of Bavarian state-building, but rather that the drive toward consolidation came from all parts of the state and can be traced in terms of philosophical, historical, legal, and constitutional concepts. The book therefore is primarily a treatise on constitutional and legal history. As such, it lacks the color abundantly

to be found, for example, in the standard *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns*, II (Munich, 1928), of Michael Doeberl. But for richness of detail, erudition, methodical presentation, and extraordinary exploitation of archival materials Rall's work can hardly be surpassed.

The book is divided into three parts. First comes a survey of eighteenth-century Bavarian political theory built mainly around the names of Westenrieder and Kreittmayr. Although the analysis is excellent in itself, the relevance is doubtful since the sampling is too small to establish solid generalizations and since, in the case of Kreittmayr, we are told (p. 65) that he was not even typical regarding his attitude toward the state.

The second section concerns Kurbayern's relationship to the Reich and is perhaps both the most valuable and weakest of the book. It is one of the few accounts that attributes considerable vitality to the Reich of the eighteenth century. Thus the description of the *Reichskammergericht*, *Reichshofrat*, and imperial gild legislation are quite impressive though far from exhaustive. But Rall often makes the opposite error, namely, treating many minor constitutional provisions as if they had real existence. The office of *Reichsverweser*, for example, was undoubtedly an ingredient of the imperial constitution, but since it materialized only when there was no emperor, there were only two brief instances of it in this period—hardly enough to warrant sixteen pages. Rall is also in this section too much concerned with formalities and routine matters and seldom illustrates concretely the actual working of institutions. Nevertheless, the general goal is attained: the author can take the Reich seriously and yet show that out of this complex of feudal relationships the territorial state was becoming a reality in point of law as in political reality.

The third and longest section deals with the internal structure of the Bavarian state, and it is here that the author most convincingly wins his point: that although a consolidated state was in the making, it was not the result of princely absolutism but of concomitant action and attitudes in the constituent parts of the state. In this respect the sections on church-state and *Landesherr-Stände* are especially good. One may say of the Wittelsbachs that they were often enlightened and often despotic but never "enlightened despots." This section of the book, like the others, is marred by excessive material of mere antiquarian and genealogical interest. More serious is the author's failure to draw comparisons with other states, both inside and outside of Germany. As a whole the book is solid but not brilliant, erudite but not broad, and systematic but not easy to follow. Nevertheless, in its ponderous way it commands respect.

University of Kentucky

ENNO E. KRAEHE

GERMANY IN POWER AND ECLIPSE: THE BACKGROUND OF GERMAN DEVELOPMENT. By James K. Pollock, James Orin Murfin Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan, and Homer Thomas, University



of Missouri. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1952. Pp. viii, 661. \$10.00.)

THIS carefully written and well-edited book of some 661 pages is a monument to the industry and the public spirit of its authors. It is a kind of combination of *Landeskunde* and *Volkskunde*, and can best be introduced to potential users by quoting the purpose set by the authors for themselves and describing the contents.

"It is our hope," write the authors in the preface, "that the present volume, which covers German development up to World War II, will fill a long-felt need by providing students of Germany in convenient compass with a body of essential reference material about the German area, its peoples and institutions." The authors promise a second volume which will deal with Germany in World War II and under occupation. The project arose during the recent war when "it appeared that there was an acute lack of concrete information which would be necessary and helpful to our military government personnel when they undertook to occupy and govern the country of the defeated enemy" (preface). The material, made available to government agencies during the war, has been completely rewritten and condensed and "adapted to general use."

The authors have arranged the material in two parts. The first, consisting of about one third of the volume, is devoted to "the evolution of the German state and society" and covers the topics: "The German Land and People," "Government and Administration," and "Political Movements and Politics." The second part offers an analysis of the country region by region, with each region being discussed according to a common pattern. For example, the province of Brandenburg is covered in a chapter of eighteen pages, the state of Bavaria in one of thirty-four pages, the state of Anhalt in one of ten pages. Within these chapters the reader will find a sketch map and information on the origins and characteristics of the population; political, constitutional, and administrative history; physical and historical geography; the social structure, religion, and education; and the economy. Pertinent statistics are included along with the German terms for the bureaucratic agencies and a selected bibliography. An appendix of ten pages of additional factual information, a glossary of eight pages, and an indispensable index of fourteen pages complete the book.

The result of such intellectual and, especially, physical activity is at the same time overwhelming and disappointing. On the credit side is the fact that no one, however well informed about Germany, will fail to find much that he did not know before; and, so far as this reviewer's knowledge goes, the reader can rely on the accuracy of the information. The description of administrative organization is particularly useful. Such compendious data are not available elsewhere in one or several volumes even in German, and the authors preserve an attitude of objectivity that could serve as a model. On the debit side must be placed those shortcomings that seem to be a necessary feature of any such work. The trees obscure

the woods. Explanations are skimmed; paragraphs seem to go nowhere. The authors have tried to include data of significance to each of the social sciences without having much more than a quantitative method of integration. So many geographic facts and so on, plus a little history, do not supply the reader with "a knowledge and understanding of Germany as a whole, and of its various parts" (preface). This reviewer thinks that the authors erred in trying to make the book serve two irreconcilable purposes, that of analysis for understanding and that of factual reference. We still lack a volume adequate for either purpose.

For a book of reference the bibliography should have been more carefully selected than it was. It is too heavily weighted on the governmental side; in general it lacks references to social and cultural materials; and it is remarkable for certain inclusions and certain omissions. While everyone evaluates books according to his own interests and standards, this reviewer nonetheless maintains that the bibliography should have included at least some of the works of Hintze, Schmoller, Ziekursch, Bruford, Kohn-Bramstedt, Meinecke, and Ritter. Likewise the correct spelling of the author of *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns* (p. 626) is Doeberl. All in all this reviewer would replace a considerable percentage of the items in the bibliography, not merely those in history, by other titles. If the authors had been more inclusive in their range of reading materials, they might not have written this kind of book; but then again, they might not have written the book at all, and in that case we should on the whole be the losers.

University of Nebraska

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

GERMAN NATIONALISM: THE TRAGEDY OF A PEOPLE. EXTREMISM CONTRA LIBERALISM IN MODERN GERMAN HISTORY. By *Louis L. Snyder*, Associate Professor of History, City College of New York. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Company. 1952. Pp. 321. \$3.75.)

TREADING in the footsteps of Peter Viereck and other writers on German nationalism, and National Socialism, the author seeks to place the latter in the context of German intellectual tradition. His purpose is to prove that National Socialism was but the "intensification of existing tendencies," the logical outcome of a long and dangerous tradition of extreme nationalism, "Prussian to the core" and diametrically opposed to the liberal, rational, individualistic, and cosmopolitan spirit of the West.

The reader is presented with biographical sketches and a scholarly interpretation of the works of German writers over the last century and a half, among them many like the Grimm brothers, Hegel, Ranke, von Clausewitz, von Treitschke, and Spengler who stood foremost in the esteem and admiration of their fellow citizens. A rich selection of well-chosen quotations permits the reader to judge for himself how extreme was the nationalism of these men, and can hardly fail to persuade him that the intellectual climate created by these works helped prepare the soil on which Hitler could plant a dictatorship appealing to people of romantic,

irrationalist, and chauvinistic inclination. In fact, if there be any doubt that Hitler could find all the ideas or slogans he needed in the writings of the Fichtes, Wagners, or Stockers this book should dispell it. It has not convinced this reader, however, that a specific German "cruelty and indifference to torture" if such there be, can be explained by the atrocities described in Hänsel and Gretel or other German fairy tales. The attack on Friedrich Meinecke, moreover, reveals a utopian bias on the part of the author rather than proving that, in seeking a synthesis between morality and power politics, the noted liberal German historian was out to sacrifice culture to power, and to Prussian militaristic power at that.

Several times the author seeks to dissociate himself as an objective historian from the anti-German propagandist writers of the war, implying that the similarity of his conclusions and theirs is coincidental. This coincidence would seem to explain itself, however, by the willingness which he shares with them to accept two basic premises as unquestionable fact. He assumes that a stream of ideas such as German romantic nationalism must necessarily in time be pushed to its logical conclusions. That is the type of argument often used by German anti-liberals to "prove" that French egalitarianism must end in communism or that Anglo-Saxon individualism must end in anarchy. The second assumption is to the effect that German nationalist literature was reflected long before Hitler in a unique German foreign policy of "power politics" and aggression while liberal rationalism in the West at the same time was producing foreign policies of peace and international co-operation. These highly debatable assumptions absolve the author from the task of explaining what particular and tragic circumstances gave the Nazis a chance to transform philosophical speculations and fantasies into state policy and to push ideas to their logical if perverse practical conclusions.

Students of German affairs, especially students of the history of German political thought, whether or not they agree with the author's conclusions, will find his study a valuable and provocative source of information.

Yale University

ARNOLD WOLFERS

MOSCOW, TOKYO, LONDON: TWENTY YEARS OF GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY. By *Herbert von Dirksen*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 276. \$4.00.)

THE reader of this book who assumes that *Moscow, Tokyo, London* is identical with the author's *Moskau, Tokio, London* (Stuttgart, 1950), must be cautioned. There is no hint in the preface to the English edition as to the differences of the two versions. However, a comparison shows that the initial chapters especially are greatly condensed in the English version. To von Dirksen's service at the German legation in The Hague in 1917 only six lines are given, in the German version almost three pages; more than six pages deal in the German edition with the German diplomatic mission in Kiev in 1918, a little over three in the English. Other significant omissions are, for instance, the reduction of almost three

pages on the struggle for the succession of Brockdorff-Rantzau as ambassador to Moscow (German ed., pp. 85-88) to one paragraph (English ed., p. 85) or the deletion of the paragraph about an important report of Hilger on the Ukraine (German ed., p. 96). What seems even more surprising is that, in the English edition, the whole chapter "Persönliches Leben in England," a counterpart to the translated section "My Private Life in Moscow," is missing. There are other minor changes, not only omissions but also additions, for instance in the narrative of von Dirksen's first public speech in Moscow at the opening of the "Woche deutscher Technik" (German ed., p. 90, English ed., p. 87). These observations and certain remarks in Sir Lewis Namier's essay "Herbert von Dirksen" (*In the Nazi Era*, London, 1952, pp. 44-62, originally published in the *Times Literary Supplement* of April 20, 1951) based on private publications of von Dirksen which are inaccessible to this reviewer, are a reminder that the informative and balanced account in the English edition needs constant careful checking with the author's own utterances to be found elsewhere and with documentary sources.

The Russians who had captured in their advance Dirksen's "private archives" at his Gröditzberg estate in Silesia exposed him to the inconvenience of publishing a selection of these papers (Vol. II of *Documents and Materials relating to the Eve of the Second World War*, published in 1948 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR). Soviet historians have exploited these papers to the utmost in an attempt to prove an Anglo-German (-American) plot against the Soviet Union in 1939. It is, therefore, understandable that von Dirksen treats his London period in much greater detail than his Moscow and Tokyo assignments. The report on his London mission is the only chapter in Dirksen's autobiography written on the basis of published documentation. The author regrets that otherwise, in writing his book, he had to rely on his memory and could not use his "private archives." One wonders what these "private archives" consisted in (from which certainly only such pieces have been published as suited the political purposes of their Russian editors). Most of the documents published bear all the outward signs of official correspondence. The extent to which members of the German foreign service after their retirement were authorized to keep copies of their official correspondence in their possession, raises a question not answered by the author.

Without going into many provocative and debatable details, it must be recognized and emphasized that von Dirksen's book is an authoritative and absorbing account of German diplomacy in the period between the world wars and especially of German relations with the countries of the European East in the 1920's and the early 1930's.

Washington, D. C.

FRITZ T. EPSTEIN

SOTSIAL'NAIA I EKONOMICHESKAIA ISTORIIA ROSSII, S DREVNE-  
ISHIKH VREMEN DO NASHEGO, V SVIAZI S RAZVITIEM RUSSKOI

KUL'TURY I ROSTOM ROSSIISKOI GOSUDARSTVENNOSTI [Social and economic history of Russia, from the earliest times to the present, together with the development of Russian culture and the growth of the Russian state]. By *P. B. Struve*. (Paris: Imprimerie de Navarre. 1952. Pp. xv, 387.)

For some years before his death in 1944, P. B. Struve had been at work on a social and economic history of his homeland. Unfortunately, he had made little progress in the actual writing of what was expected to be the major work of this famed exile. The fragments he left are published here by his sons, together with a collection of thirteen of his articles and lectures and a bibliography of his writings (covering twenty-three pages and still incomplete).

The first section of the unfinished book, dealing with the Kievan period, was obviously intended to serve as the foundation for a work of great sweep. It was completed but, surely, would have been edited before publication by its author had he lived, for it is frequently repetitious. The second part, written in the last year and a half of Struve's life, is published from his first draft. It is a series of loosely connected essays on a number of topics of the late Kievan era and the period of the Tatar yoke. In neither of these sections is there anything strikingly new. The intimate and important details of economic development are disappointingly absent. Moreover, the author's reasoning is in places hard to follow, a difficulty that brings to mind Sir Bernard Pares's recollection that Struve at times went "into some hermitage of thought of his own." Yet, because of the insight that was characteristic of Struve's work, these pages frequently are provocative, as when he explains his reasons for not beginning his history earlier than the ninth century, the agricultural role of the cities of Kievan Russia, the contribution of Tatar religious toleration to the creation of the Muscovite state, or the importance of the often-overlooked Vassili II in this unification. Of value, too, are the comparisons between various Russian institutions and their analogues in other societies.

In the introduction, written in 1939, Struve tells that his purpose in engaging upon this study was to investigate the origins of the 1917 Revolution. The studies of a lifetime had led him to the conclusion that all of Russia's social and economic history was a story of freedom and of a free economy struggling against compulsion and its economy. The Revolution itself, he wrote, was a grandiose reaction of the compulsion that was rooted in the soil against the equally deeply rooted freedom. It was this struggle that he proposed to study from the ninth century on. The task he set for himself was monumental, but it was one he not only could have accomplished, had he lived, but could probably have done better than anyone else of our time.

*Princeton University*

JEROME BLUM

BOLSHEVISM: AN INTRODUCTION TO SOVIET COMMUNISM. By *Waldemar Gurian*. [International Studies of the Committee on International

Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1952. Pp. 189. \$3.25.)

COMMUNIST theory, as the author of this volume demonstrates convincingly, is a formidable creed which offers an explanation of historical evolution, past, present, and future. It furnishes a guide to action which enables its adherents to know where to go and what to do in meeting the situations which confront them. A study of Communist theory, therefore, helps to illuminate present events and provides the clues to many seeming contradictions in Soviet action.

Waldemar Gurian in this study presents the "essence" of Communist theory. Communism must be understood, states the author, as a social and political religion, which demands absolute dominance over every realm of life, spiritual as well as secular. Marxism as such is not analyzed in this study. Rather, the emphasis is on Bolshevism, or Russian Communism, as developed by Lenin and Stalin from the basic principles as enunciated by Marx and Engels.

After an examination of the doctrine the author turns to the realities of Bolshevism and the discrepancies between theory and practice. Instead of the promised society of equality and liberty, satisfying everyone's needs, the Soviet system has become a regime of totalitarian power politics, adapted to the conditions deriving from Russian history.

The volume concludes with an examination of the reasons for Communism's appeal outside of Russia. In one of the most thoughtful and provocative sections of the book the point is made that the strength of Communist doctrine lies in the fact that it is a faith which has replaced the traditional beliefs which have been lost in the modern world. Communism thus gains from the psychological crises of Western society. Loss of religious belief has led insecure and frustrated people to accept the Bolshevik certainties of *this* world. Those who have lost their inherited faith, but who cannot be satisfied with skepticism and relativism, have embraced Communism as a political religion.

Thus, in the author's words, Soviet Communism "brings to full maturity seeds contained in the modern secularized world." It has been successful because it has brought to their logical conclusion "tendencies and forces in our time, accepted unconsciously even by many of those who sincerely believe that they are enemies of Communism." Bolshevism can be defeated only when these shortcomings and weaknesses of modern society are frankly recognized and remedied. In a statement worthy of quotation, the author concludes that men must realize that "true freedom consists not in the necessity of a coming classless society, but in the capacity to produce an infinite variety of men and human groups embodying history and society, expressing and emphasizing the manifold aspects of human nature."

*Syracuse University*

MARGUERITE J. FISHER



THE STRUGGLE FOR TRANSCAUCASIA (1917-1921). By *Firuz Kazemzadeh*. With an Introduction by *Michael Karpovich*, Professor of History, Harvard University. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1951. Pp. xiii, 356. \$5.75.)

THIS work on the little-known but rather important region of tsarist Russia should be welcomed by students of southeastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The historian of World War I will also find it of considerable value, for Dr. Kazemzadeh's dissertation throws some light on the working of Western diplomacy in that region during the specified years.

Transcaucasia had been part of the Russian Empire since the early nineteenth century, and in the course of more than a hundred years had become, largely because of the petroleum in the Baku area, an indispensable and inseparable unit of Russia. It was fairly well governed, and its inhabitants remained loyal to the tsarist regime. When that regime collapsed in 1917 the three principal nationalities (Armenians, Georgians, and the Azerbaijani) found themselves without a ruler. After some hesitation they joined hands and, in December of 1917, formed a government. The task confronting this government was beset with difficulties: it had to deal with the Bolsheviks and the Turks. At the time it could and did temporize with the former, but could not, even if all three of its component nationalities wanted, meet the invading Turkish force effectively. Early in 1918 the Turks were ready to impose their brand of Brest-Litovsk terms upon the Transcaucasian government. Upon Turkey's insistence, that government first declared its independence of Russia on April 22, and a few days later this "newly born independent Democratic Federative Republic of Transcaucasia" was recognized by the Turks.

The peace terms (partly enumerated on p. 111) were harsh on all three nationalities but, if accepted, would have meant the annihilation of the Armenians. These terms were rejected, but Turkish pressure was sufficient to break up the Transcaucasian Federative Republic. The Georgians then hoped to find refuge under German protection; the Azerbaijani welcomed the Turks as their co-religionists; but the Armenians were faced with the difficult choice of fighting the Turks against unbelievable odds. They fought, and thereby managed to save a part of their homeland. Late in May, 1918, all three declared their independence and were recognized by the Allied and Associated Powers. For more than two years they maintained their precarious status, but in the end, thanks to the ineptitude of Western diplomacy, they were brought within the ever-expanding Soviet sphere. By early 1921 their long-cherished and short-lived independence had vanished.

This complex story of overcrowded events is fairly well told. The reviewer of a work which is one of the few in English on the subject should be chary of criticism, but the narrative would have gained immensely if some of the details (most of chapters I, V, and VII) had been omitted.

*Washington, D. C.*

A. O. SARKISSIAN

## Far Eastern History

NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION OF AN AMERICAN SQUADRON TO THE CHINA SEAS AND JAPAN UNDER THE COMMAND OF COMMODORE M. C. PERRY, UNITED STATES NAVY. Compiled at His Request and under His Supervision, by Francis L. Hawks. Abridged and Edited by *Sidney Wallach*. (New York: Coward-McCann. 1952. Pp. xxxv, 305. \$5.00.)

It is fitting that on the centennial anniversary of the arrival of Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry in Japan a new edition of his *Narrative* should appear. This volume is an abridgment of the official publication of the expedition with the material "confined essentially to an account of the political mission." In the introductory chapter, the editor includes some additional extracts from the original text as well as a short account of Perry's background and of the editing of the three large volumes compiled by Dr. Hawks under Perry's direct supervision. Most of the important events connected with Perry's successful opening of Japan to the Western world are described in this single volume. The preparations made in the United States for the mission, the visit to the Lew Chew (Liuchiu) Islands, the appearance of the American ships off the Japanese coast, Perry's preliminary negotiations and landing during July, 1853, are extensively presented. The second half of the volume is devoted to the second trip to Japan the next year culminating in the successful conclusion of the Treaty of Amity and Friendship of March 31, 1854, the first treaty between Japan and a Western power. The *Narrative* is colorfully written and gives a vivid picture of the effects on the Japanese government and people of two and a half centuries of dictatorship and seclusion. From the point of view of American history, the whole purpose of the expedition and Perry's attitude and action throughout the three years that he was away give indications of the compelling influence that the concept of manifest destiny had upon American foreign policy.

Although the appearance of the *Narrative* in the present form greatly facilitates its accessibility, much is left to be desired in its editing. In the first place, no mention is made of any of the other material available on the expedition. Some of the works which have appeared recently, such as Arthur Walworth's carefully compiled and readable *Black Ships off Japan: the Story of Commodore Perry's Expedition* and journals of other members of the mission edited by Allan B. Cole, Henry Graff, and others deserve at least passing mention. Furthermore, the scholar should use the text with caution. Unfortunately the editor does not state which edition he used for the abridgment. Presumably it was the first edition, published in 1856 by order of Congress. If such is the case, liberties have been taken at numerous places with the original without explanation. To cite an example, a single paragraph on page 43 contains six editorial changes. Some of the names have been transliterated according to modern methods of romanization but the

names have been selected arbitrarily. No effort has been made to identify individuals mentioned. Those familiar with Perry and his expedition know of the meticulous care taken by him in its preparation, in its accomplishment, and in the compilation of the *Narrative*. Any commemorative edition would seem to warrant comparable meticulousness in its preparation.

*Columbia University*

HUGH BORTON

DEMOCRACY AND FOREIGN POLICY, A CASE HISTORY: THE SINO-JAPANESE DISPUTE, 1931-33. By R. Bassett, Lecturer in Political Science at the London School of Economics and Political Science. [Publications of the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1952. Pp. xxiii, 654.)

THIS is a perplexing book. Of its motivation, the author says at the outset: "This book is the outcome of a long felt concern about the misleading versions of British foreign policy between the First and Second World Wars which have become widely popularized and are still prevalent." Of its scope: "the analysis has been confined to one phase only of British foreign policy—that relating to the Manchurian crisis [better known in the United States as the 'Manchuria Incident'] of 1931-3." Of its substance: "this book is . . . concerned with the opinions expressed in this country [Great Britain] on the basis of the knowledge available either at the time or in subsequent years." Of its purpose: "My object . . . has been to ascertain and defend the truth."

The product is in major part a study of British attitudes as disclosed in utterances regarding the "Sino-Japanese Dispute" (conflict) under reference, problems which arose in connection therewith, and the course pursued by the British government in relation thereto. Setting and continuity are provided by a narrative account of events immediately preceding and within and after the "crisis"—but not of matters antecedent. There is treatment of the "sanctions controversy," the Stimson nonrecognition note, the Stimson letter to Borah, British policy, effort in and with the League of Nations and in relations with the United States, the Report of the Lytton Commission, the arms embargo, parliamentary debates, the press, open forum discussion, the publicists, party politics, and official policy. Throughout, the author addresses himself to analysis and confutation of "legends," "myths," and "charges" of the "critics."

The book begins with an introduction and a prologue in the course of which the author declares his purposes, explains his method, and summarizes his findings; then, twenty chapters dealing with what was said and done—or not done—during the "four phases" (chronologically) of the "dispute"; next, a chapter dealing with the subsequent "development of controversy on party lines"; and finally, in four chapters, an accounting for and defense of the course pursued by the British government. Could it be that in the making of this aggregate, several studies (theses?) were federalized under a broadly covering title? Into the

making there went an intensive examination of an extensive amount of published material of British origin. Most lacking are an adequate complementary examination of parallel material of American origins and consideration of the much needed element of *backgrounds*. Had these been included, the product, though not necessarily longer, might surely have been stronger.

As it stands, the evidence presented seems to convict many British "critics"—and some defenders—of having dealt lightly with many facts. It disposes adversely and convincingly of the "legend" regarding "sanctions." Not so, however, of the "myth" of failure on the part of the British government to co-operate with the government of the United States. The author has himself failed to take adequately into account the differences in points of departure, in objectives, and in habits and methods of approach which stood in the way of co-operation between the two governments. Proof that neither government was prepared or willing to take certain types of action and that both did in the long run take substantially the same types does not refute the charge that there had been failure to co-operate. For, in the processes of co-operation the factor of *time* is no less important than are the factors of *what* and *where*; and it happened that as regards the *time-when* factor the courses followed by the two governments respectively did not coincide. Whereas at a relatively early moment Mr. Stimson concluded that the procedures of conciliation, tried and found wanting, must be supplemented or superseded by positive measures, Sir John Simon gave support to that view only occasionally and belatedly. All the way along, the American government appears to have assessed more quickly and more accurately than did the British the character, significance, and implications of the Japanese operations, and the former was ahead of the latter in taking or proposing affirmative objection to those operations. At as late a moment as December 7, 1932, Sir John Simon, addressing the Assembly of the League, made, after indirect criticism of China and praise of Japan, an eloquent plea for strict adherence by the League to the principle of conciliation. Elaborate dialectical contraverting—in two chapters and in passages *passim*—of the charge that this was a "forensic defense" of Japan leaves unchallenged and highlighted the indisputable fact that—with nearly a year elapsed since Mr. Stimson had moved from conciliation into the field of affirmative action, and at a moment when the Assembly was on the eve of affirming Japan at fault—Great Britain's spokesman urged that, "primarily concerned with the influence" of the League, the Assembly confine its efforts to promoting of "conciliation" and "reconciliation."

The author affirms that "the book is not expected to be popular" and that "there remains plenty of scope for criticism." He invites "correction." The wealth of data which he has brought to market can be useful to scholars familiar with the subjects with which he has wrestled. His development of the point that there is a "pattern" is especially noteworthy in its bearing on efforts to appraise current trends. It is believed, however, that, with more consideration of background facts and with reading between and beyond the lines of contemporary British

utterances, he himself would feel the need to re-examine and might wish to revise substantially some of his interpretations and conclusions.

Washington, D. C.

STANLEY K. HORNBECK

REVOLUTION IN CHINA. By *Charles Patrick Fitzgerald*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1952. Pp. ix, 290. \$4.50.)

PROFESSOR Fitzgerald describes, very convincingly, the centrality of China in the form of three pillars of Chinese civilization, and the causes for revolution or disintegration of these pillars. The general reader will be attracted by his fluent analysis in which the author makes the key to success of any revolution in China dual support by the farmers and the scholars. The foregoing are "historical factors which have shaped China's destiny," and the book is written from the standpoint of a historian. However, by the time the reader has reached "the triumph of communism" as the "last phase of the Chinese revolution" with its predicted success, it is clear that the method is too thematic to be truly historical.

To make the old empire, manned by scholars through civil service and motivated by Confucian teachings, analogous to the totalitarian Communist regime, with its hierarchy, and motivated by Communist ideology, may sound well as a theme, but the analogy is quite contrary to the "fundamental forces of Chinese life and thought." As an elaboration of his theme, periods of great culture are attributed to three "tyrants" and some "autocrats" (p. 190), but the achievements of the T'ang, Sung, and Ming dynasties are no more due to these figures than the Christianization of the West was due to Roman rule or American democracy was due to George III. Yes, poets could sing, painters work, and philosophers write and teach, and it was in full Chinese tradition that Han Yü protested the emperor's proposed honor for a bone of Buddha in 803, that Sung Ching refused three times an appointment by Empress Wu, that Li Hua should write his essay on "An Old Battlefield," and Po Chü-i his poem, "The Everlasting Wrong."

There is no mention in *Revolution in China* of the role of the censorate, the right to revolution, the dominant laissez-faire policy, the tendency to decentralization, and the freedom of silence or nonco-operation, all of which have been strong characteristics of Chinese thought and practice for ages. Therefore, the author cannot escape the criticism of having made use of the unusual and of abuses of fundamental ideas and institutions. Instead of using the faithful translation, "he who is not in any particular office has nothing to do with its plans for the administration of its duties" (by James Legge), he translates it, "Those who do not occupy the seats of authority should not concern themselves with the government" (p. 143). Legge's comment is, "Every man should mind his own business" and this is in line with the very core of Confucian ethics which says, "Examine yourself," "Censure yourself," and "Discipline yourself." Further, instead of describing the "superior person" as one who tried to live such teachings, he char-

acterizes him as "the autocratic man." The seventy-three references on the Superior Person in the *Analects*, ten in the *Great Learning*, twenty in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and seventy or more in the *Classic of Change* surely do not describe an autocratic person. And as for the "peasants," what but these teachings made into a language of proverbs and known by the people in general, could make them go on about their business even in times of unrest? It was not the threat of death that made the Chinese live orderly lives. The revolts which took place did so, largely, because the rulers failed to live up to their responsibilities in relation to Confucian principles, which principles were not as watertight as Professor Fitzgerald takes them to be. The text goes so far as to say that the majority of the Chinese desire a "restoration of an autocratic state." (p. 166), and that Mao Tse-tung's "New Democracy" is "Chinese." Such extreme assertions should convince no one.

When the text is not defending the Chinese Communist regime, it is pro-British, critical of United States policy, and anti-Nationalist.

University of California, Los Angeles

YU-SHAN HAN

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF CHINESE COMMUNISM. By Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz, and John K. Fairbank. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 6.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. 552. \$7.50.)

THE compilers of this documentary history suggest that "the Communist rise to power in China can be understood only in terms of its Chinese context" and that "its success is intelligible only from a Chinese point of view." Its meaning is, of course, greatest to the Chinese people and nation, but, in political terms, only somewhat less so to Russia and the United States, neither of which is perhaps yet in a position really to understand its occurrence and final significance for China, Asia, and itself.

The Russian Research Center fortunately has enabled a number of experts at Harvard to bring together in English translation necessary and basic, but limited, Chinese Communist materials, supported by over a hundred pages of analysis and commentary, which throw light on the explicit strategy and processes, assumptions and doctrines, with which a professionalized and radical Communist minority set out to win power in China. The result of their effort is, in effect, two works in one volume: a historical *and* documentary survey of Chinese Communism. The main body of the book, about 350 pages, consists of translations of forty documents (seven are extracted, three are résumés), covering the period from 1922 to the autumn of 1949, when a Communist government was organized at Peking. Thus it ends before the consolidation of Chinese Communist power when the Russian example and influence on the style of the revolution became increasingly apparent in the shift in emphasis from reform to control and repression. Save for two small documents associated with Sun Yat-



sen, these documents are major policy statements or papers of the Chinese Communist party and its leaders. As such they do not pretend to describe the actual operations, circumstances, and impact of the Communist movement and party apparatus in China but deal with the development at a high level of the party "line" or strategy. The documents selected are those which seemed most significant to American interpreters but are not necessarily the most important for the Chinese people or to the Chinese Communist party. Availability has certainly been a major factor in selection. Indeed, the documents since 1935 are for the most part those issued by the Chinese Communist party leadership for its rank and file and the Chinese public, and are not the documents dealing with the calculations made within and for the inner circle of the party's dictatorial elite.

The introduction and concluding comments together with the commentaries scattered through the book fill some of the gaps left by the documents. Here are perceptive discussions of Mao Tse-tung's rise to power, the role of the peasantry, and intraparty struggles. Interpretation, however, is still difficult. The emphasis on the major role of Mao's peasant orientation, which B. I. Schwartz, one of the authors, developed in his careful study, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, is followed. The relative political and ideological significance attributed to this phase of Mao's thought may yet be modified by perusal of some of Mao's other works, such as his 1926 essay on Chinese society and class divisions and recent changes in party doctrine and policy. The Russian connection also awaits fuller treatment.

The translations and bibliography are excellent, as are the chronology and glossary by Chao Kuo-chun. There are a few minor errors in names and dates, and on page 171 an unsolved problem in the translation of the "principle of defeatism" which would have been clear if the translator had consulted the resolution of the sixth World Congress of the Communist International, "The Struggle against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communist," where the term is used to refer to the application of this principle to "imperialist" armies.

No present work in English presents a broader survey of basic information on the development of Chinese Communist strategy than this. It should be an important and necessary reference for those interested in the development of Communism in Asia and China. It is not, however, and does not claim to be, the history of Chinese Communism.

*Washington, D. C.*

JOHN M. H. LINDBECK

NATIONALISM AND REVOLUTION IN INDONESIA. By *George McTur-*  
*nan Kahin*, Assistant Professor of Government and Executive Director, South-  
east Asia Program, Cornell University. [Published under the Auspices of the  
International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the South-  
east Asia Program, Cornell University.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University  
Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 490. \$6.00.)

THE birth of a new country, like the birth of a person, is neither a simple nor a passionless affair. Yet Dr. Kahin has told the story of the rise of nationalism and the bitter struggle for independence in Indonesia both clearly and soberly. The volume stands as a tribute not only to the Indonesian people and its national leaders but also to the diligence, sympathy, and poise of the author.

*Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* covers briefly the background of Dutch colonial policy and the Japanese occupation. It traces rapidly the rise of nationalism. But the emphasis of the book is on the years from 1945 to 1950. It dwells in detail on the political parties and leaders who were struggling for independence. Here much of the new and intimate material is to be found. The author has depended not only on Indonesian documentation generally unavailable or unknown in the West but also on a wide range of personal interviews with Indonesian leaders who obviously trusted him as they trusted few westerners. Had the struggle for independence not succeeded it is doubtful whether Dr. Kahin could have used some of this interview material without seriously jeopardizing his sources. Contrapuntally the efforts of the Dutch to re-establish their hegemony is told and the establishment of the puppet states described. Here perhaps more than anywhere else the author betrays the locus of his sympathies. In any event, the dogged misestimation by the Dutch of Indonesian aspirations and strength, that was not measurable in military and economic terms, emerges with tragic clarity. The constant compromising of United States policy, the slowness of the United Nations, the importance of the support offered by Asian nations to Indonesia, and the final reaction of world opinion to the second "police action" by the Dutch are better known than the moderation and poise of Republican leadership and the final realization that it was on themselves and their capacity to resist that they had to depend rather than on international support. It was only after the capacity to resist the Communist enemies within the country and the Dutch military action against the Republic had been amply demonstrated that the tide turned in their favor. The importance of this experience is probably reflected in Indonesia's present international policies. It is a story whose implications cannot be ignored either for the future of Indonesia or for the rising nationalism of Asia and Africa.

This thumbnail sketch of Dr. Kahin's book fails to do credit to the author's original contributions, or to his scholarly and well-documented history of those crucial years. In it the best standards of the historian, the political scientist, and of the field worker are ably maintained.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Kahin will provide us with later editions that will keep this story up to date and that he will be given every opportunity to maintain his contacts with the leaders of this important Southeast Asian nation. Although the present volume runs to almost 500 pages there are some gaps that will have to be filled one day. Fuller accounts of Australia's and India's role, the economic measures that accompanied military and political action, the Dutch domestic politics during the crucial years, and the vacillations in the Department

of State and in the United Nations are some of these gaps. But these are the quibbles of an enthusiast. Dr. Kahin's volume is a classic and will remain so whether or not he will be able to give us periodic amplifications.

*Washington, D. C.*

CORA DU BOIS

**PACIFIC OUTPOST: AMERICAN STRATEGY IN GUAM AND MICRONESIA.** By *Earl S. Pomeroy*. [Stanford Books in World Politics.] (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1951. Pp. xx, 198. \$5.00.)

THIS volume gives a valuable history of the attitude and the action of the United States in regard to our naval policy in the Pacific, with especial reference to Guam and Micronesia. The work is based on a voluminous bibliography, including several manuscript collections and various government sources. The research is thorough and scholarly and the treatment is objective. The author aims particularly to describe the cycles of opinion, both governmental and popular, and the official action taken, in regard to the fortification of Guam.

The conclusion reached is that nowhere else in the development of American naval defense have hesitation and delay been more pronounced and in few other areas has there been so much uncertainty as to the nature of American interests. The author points out that during the half century and over since the United States obtained Guam there have been recurring alternations in public and governmental opinion as to the desirability of fortifying the island. In times of war it has seemed desirable to make Guam an adequate naval base in the Pacific; but in times of peace interest in the project has subsided and the government has taken no action in the matter.

The failure to fortify Guam—and it is still inadequately defended—has been due to various causes, especially to: (1) relatively swift changes in naval technique, and the resulting shifts in naval strategy; and (2) fluctuations in American opinion in regard to preparedness in general and especially in regard to fortifications in the Pacific. As to naval technique, the Navy at first depended on coal-burning vessels, then on oil-burning ships, then on airplanes, naval carriers, and radio. Each change affected the strategic value of the island and the measures essential to utilize its strategic usefulness. In the early days Guam was regarded chiefly as a possible coal supply station, in the period of oil-burners and the airplane as a possible large, fortified naval base.

As for public opinion, at no time in peace did it give sufficiently strong support to the proposal to fortify Guam, and at no time would Congress appropriate adequate funds. For fourteen years after the Washington Arms Conference, 1921-22, the United States was bound by a treaty, which received widespread national approval, not to increase the fortifications of designated Pacific islands, including Guam. In the thirties a strong sentiment arose among the people and even in the government against preparedness in any form, including the fortification of Guam.

The responsibility for the failure to fortify Guam must be divided in varying proportions among the public, the Congress, the Executive, the Army, and, in some degree, even the Navy.

Worcester, Massachusetts

GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE

## American History

AMERICAN HISTORY AND AMERICAN HISTORIANS: A REVIEW OF RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *H. Hale Bellot*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1952. Pp. x, 336. \$4.00.)

THE title of this volume exaggerates the scope of its text. In the preface the author states that his principal subject will be "the work and influence of the Middle Western school" from the publication of Frederick Jackson Turner's famous essay to about 1940. This choice of emphasis is upheld on the "indisputable" ground that "the true point of view for the understanding of [eighteenth- and nineteenth-century] American history was the West" because "the fundamental fact" during those years "was the settlement of a continent." This reaffirms a judgment rendered in 1945 by Professor Bellot, then as now the Commonwealth Fund Professor of American History in the University of London, when he read most of the first chapter of the present study before the Royal Historical Society (*Transactions*, 4th ser., XXVIII, 121-48). No matter whether students subscribe to the dictum, or share this reviewer's scruples against squeezing almost two centuries of American development within the confines of only one "true" interpretation, they will find the greater part of this book a highly useful, integrated summary of published works by Turner and many historians influenced by him. For this reason the author's forewarning that his text will be hard reading should serve as a challenge rather than a bar. Many of the long paragraphs are packed full of thought, or make reference to fairly obscure places and events, thus demanding alertness and considerable factual knowledge if they are to be understood.

The author, furthermore, is not content merely to report what historians of the West have concluded about complex subjects such as the coming of the Revolution and the Civil War, the background of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, the settlement of the Mississippi Valley, and the agrarian and labor discontents of the late nineteenth century. Although the boundary between their contributions and Professor Bellot's own reflections are not often clearly marked, he frequently interprets the interpreters, supplements their points of view with stimulating comments, and mentions topics which either need more thorough investigation or have been overlooked entirely by American historians.

When, in the last of his seven chapters, he turns to a consideration of


twentieth-century problems he suggests that, for their understanding, "the change from the position of a debtor to that of a creditor nation" may be almost as fundamental as the westward movement of the earlier years. This preference for economic explanations pervades the entire book. The Revolution, he believes, may have been mainly "an adjustment by violence of an intolerable economic disequilibrium," and "people, land, and the manner of their conjunction are the core of Middle Western and Southwestern history." Consistent with his stress upon wide-ranging impersonal forces rather than motives, the author excludes biographies from consideration, although he mentions a few in the extensive chapter-by-chapter bibliographies and among the more than twelve hundred works listed before the several maps at the close of the volume.

Occasional misspellings of authors' names and inexact book titles detract little from the serviceability of these topically organized references. There are, however, a number of surprising omissions, and Professor Bellot's assessment of several works, usually judged to be among the most distinguished in American historiography, is far from complimentary. Almost no attention is given to important recent studies in urban, cultural, and intellectual history. At least a few living American historians, whom most of their colleagues would probably rank high on any short, select list, either go unmentioned or much of their principal work is given no place. Notwithstanding the western slant of most of the book, Turner's *The Significance of Sections in American History* and *The United States, 1830-1850*, are omitted. In a half-sentence, Henry Adams' memorable study of the years 1801-1817 is dismissed as "bitter and scornful." The first volume of Vernon L. Parrington's trilogy is "stimulating" and "a gallant foray," but is "so unhistorical in its methods and so partisan that it was valuable rather for conception than achievement." The few comments such as these, together with the many more which are better calculated to prod than to provoke the reader, will make this volume an excellent spur to classroom discussion.

*University of Chicago*

WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON

SCIENCE AND RELIGION IN AMERICAN THOUGHT: THE IMPACT OF NATURALISM. By *Edward A. White*. [Stanford University Series: History, Economics, and Political Science, Volume VIII.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 117. Cloth \$2.50, paper \$1.50.)



THIS slender volume looks at the relations between science and religion through the eyes of John William Draper, Andrew White, John Fiske, William James, David Starr Jordan, and John Dewey. Draper, a pre-Darwinian positivist, saw the conflict between science and religion as a struggle between reason and faith, the latter entrenched in the institutionalized church. White viewed the clash as one between science and medieval theology and anticipated that the two would be reconciled through the inexorable operation of the evolutionary process. John Fiske, the great popularizer of Darwinism, proclaimed that there was really

no conflict between evolution and the Christian ideal. William James saw a pluralistic universe with room for science, the individual personality, and transcendent religious experience. Jordan, who reflected the changing ideas of his time, finally concluded that the conflict between science and religion was one between living and dying theories; Jordan himself moved toward a humanism which left room for a transcendent God and a moralistic religion while attacking the established church as a rallying point for outmoded ideas. Dewey, on the other hand, rejected all supernaturalism in his attempt to bridge the ancient gap between facts and values. The volume, which opens with a summary chapter, concludes with brief essay on the evolutionary controversy of the 1920's.

In many respects this is a valuable book. It does much to destroy the illusion that leading scientists were openly hostile to all aspects of Christianity or were unconcerned about the relations between science and religion. There is a particularly clear summary and criticism of Dewey's views, while the brief but incisive pages on the evolutionary controversy of the 1920's suggest the need for further research and reinterpretation of that subject. Finally, the author's avowedly Christian point of view produces some useful and interesting insights and criticisms.

Nevertheless, the book has some serious limitations. It is concerned with only six major individuals who look with sympathy on a naturalistic point of view. The larger questions of their influence or of the general reaction of scientists and churchmen to the rise of naturalism remain to be explored. Professor White is concerned with the logic and philosophical validity of ideas and makes virtually no attempt to relate men and ideas to the social context in which they appeared. Except for the essay on Jordan, the analysis is limited to the readily available published works of the figures discussed; as a result, specialists may find little that is new here. On the other hand, those untrained in philosophy may find the book difficult reading. Some of the difficulty is inherent in the material, but Professor White's predilection for a book-by-book rather than a topical analysis helps to blur his central ideas. (Witness the separate treatment accorded Jordan's views as reflected in his published works and in his correspondence, pp. 77 ff.) Still, this volume offers a useful introduction to an important subject. It is to be hoped that Professor White and others will continue to explore this phase of American intellectual history.

*New York State College for Teachers, Albany*

KENDALL BIRR

ENGLISH DISCOVERY OF AMERICA TO 1585. By *Franklin T. McCann*.  
(New York: King's Crown Press. 1952. Pp. xiv, 246. \$3.50.)

A BRIEF general book on the English approach to America in the sixteenth century which took into account the many-sided character of recent research was clearly needed and Mr. McCann's book goes some way toward fulfilling that need. It is sensible and clear-headed and it takes account of much work that has



been done in this field in the past quarter of a century. He has three main themes—medieval cosmography as understood in England and gradually transformed by modern geography and cosmology, taking in America as “the fourth part of the earth,” but still retaining many medieval concepts in the later sixteenth century; the impact of America on English geographical and imaginative literature; and the narrative of the English voyages down to the establishment of the first Roanoke Island colony in 1585. The first theme is well treated and has a number of original features; the second is competently done, particularly in its analysis of the American scene as painted in Eden’s *Decades* of 1555; while the third, though shrewdly selective in parts, is rather badly proportioned. The bibliography is adequate, though not all-inclusive, and it betrays some confusion between primary and secondary authorities. The general standard of accuracy is good, though there are faults of emphasis and a number of slips. Among the latter may be noted discrepancies in his accounts of David Ingram’s travels (pp. 149, 180–82); the statement (p. 160) that Edward Hayes’s discourse on Gilbert’s voyage did not appear until 1600 when it was printed in 1589; the implication (pp. 158–59) that the reconnaissance voyage of the *Squirrel* in 1580 and the “scouting expedition” of “Simon Fernando” were distinct. There are others of a similar character. More important, there is no consistent treatment of economic factors in the development of English commerce with America; England’s Newfoundland fishery is nowhere given adequate emphasis; the close interaction between French and English discoveries in the west is not mentioned; the development of English maps of the West Indies and North America is scarcely treated. Yet some omissions were to be expected in a work covering such a wide field.

It may be useful to subject one part of the “voyages” theme to more detailed critical handling. For the period 1480–1547 Mr. McCann rightly bases his account on J. A. Williamson’s classic, *Voyages of the Cabots and the English Discovery of North America under Henry VII and Henry VIII* (London, 1929), but he cites only three or four subsequent books and papers. This means that he is, in a number of respects, out of date. Miss E. M. Carus-Wilson (*The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages* [Bristol Record Society, 1937], pp. 155–58, 161–65) has put a new complexion on the “Brazil” voyages of 1480–81 as fishing ventures (cf. p. 40). Additional texts have become available on the Cabot voyages, particularly that of 1498 (*The Anglia Historia of Polydore Vergil*, ed. Denys Hay, Camden Ser., LXXIV [1950], 116–17 [see *English Historical Review*, LIV (1939), 246–47]; *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. I. Thornley [London, 1939], pp. 287–88, 320) which make some modifications in pages 51–54 desirable. Mr. F. J. Fisher’s attempt (“Commercial Trends and Policy in Sixteenth Century England,” *Economic History Review*, 1st ser., X [1940], 95–117) to link the rise and fall of interest in America with the trade-cycle in the cloth industry deserved mention. The projected voyage of 1521, which is of considerable interest, is ignored. Here, too, new information has been published (*Acts of Court of the Mercers’ Company*, ed. L. Lyell and F. D. Watney [Cambridge,

England, 1936], pp. 524-29). Finally, for Hore's voyage of 1536 (cf. pp. 66-68) Professor E. G. R. Taylor produced new evidence ("Master Hore's Voyage of 1536," *Geographical Journal*, LXXVII [1931], pp. 469-70) to show that older accounts were exaggerated and imperfect. To subject the whole book to a similar test would be neither practical nor fair, but the sample given gives a reasonable indication of how far it can be relied on in detail. For the nonspecialist it will, however, be found most useful, and the specialist will find Mr. McCann worth reading even where he may differ from him.

University College of Swansea

DAVID B. QUINN

#### MYTHS AND REALITIES: SOCIETIES OF THE COLONIAL SOUTH.

By *Carl Bridenbaugh*. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1952. Pp. x, 208. \$3.25.)

PROFESSOR Bridenbaugh's purpose and point of view may be best indicated in his own words:

One must go directly back to the sources in a study such as this because earlier writers concerned themselves almost exclusively with institutional and political history, with reactions against external criticism, and with celebrating uncritically the achievements of their friends and kin. Above all, these authors, stemming from the gentry, wrote essentially aristocratic narratives of the past, and such comments and asides bearing on economic, social, and intellectual matters as they indulged were usually *obiter dicta* or at the most defensive assertions not subject to proof [p. viii].

Having disposed of his predecessors as unhistorical and unimportant, Professor Bridenbaugh concludes his preface by saying that "*Myths and Realities* is meant to be a call to historians of the nation as well as of the section to turn back and investigate the enlightening first half of Southern history . . ." (p. ix).

To aid the historians who answer this call, Mr. Bridenbaugh says in his "Bibliographical Note" (p. 197) that he has "supplied references with a dual purpose in mind: to indicate the sources of quotations or other data; and to provide prospective investigators with a quick guide to what I consider the best sources and secondary authorities . . . treated in the text." Mr. Bridenbaugh describes the care with which he prepared himself to lay the ghosts which have led previous historians into error. Although he concedes that he could not "make an exhaustive study" for his lectures,

I have, however, read every Southern newspaper and magazine published before 1776, a large part of the literature of the time, all printed records of the five colonies considered plus the manuscript records of South Carolina at Columbia. In addition, I have worked through all the publications of Southern local and state historical societies. I think it fair to state that I have consulted all the relevant secondary literature on the subject. Over a period of years I have supplemented my studies of maps and photographs by personally inspecting much

of the surviving remains of the civil and domestic architecture of the late colonial period as well as many of its paintings in private and public collections. Into the mass of unused manuscripts I have dipped freely, and have succeeded in turning up significant new evidence on several hitherto obscure matters.

Although Professor Bridenbaugh's modesty will not permit him to call this formidable preparation "exhaustive," his colleagues will marvel at his energy and industry. But Professor Bridenbaugh's enthusiasm for fresh scholarship has led him to dismiss perhaps too quickly useful monographic literature on his subject, little of which finds a place in his footnotes designed to guide future researchers in the field. His own evidence from contemporary documents would have been richer—and perhaps his conclusions might have been modified—had he made use of the extraordinary amount of source material painstakingly gathered by his sincere and honest if misguided predecessors.

Professor Bridenbaugh's lectures at Louisiana State University were not intended to deal with the whole colonial background in the South, but "in particular with the years from 1730 to 1776" (p. viii), and a great deal of his evidence comes from the last decade which he has elected to discuss. The three lectures on "The Chesapeake Society," "The Carolina Society," and "The Back Settlements," are really a description of life in the South in the period immediately preceding the Revolution. Professor Bridenbaugh is at his best when he is quoting fresh excerpts from newspapers and other documents which his diligence has led him to unearth. Frequently both the author and the reader forget that he has a "thesis" to prove, or that there is a "myth" in the closet. When Professor Bridenbaugh does remember that there are myths about, he picks up a few quotations and throws them at a myth and then proceeds with a description of life in the period as he understands it. The principal myth which worries him is something called aristocracy. Mr. Bridenbaugh has gone in search of evidence to prove that what he characterizes as "Chesapeake bigwigs" were really rather ignorant and selfish boors. Truth to tell, he has found quotations to show that some of them were. In his zeal to refute the error that any of them were commendably literate, Mr. Bridenbaugh calls attention to the naiveté of previous historians:

The denizens of the Chesapeake country were not a reading people. From what we have just learned of their life and training this does not surprise us; yet much time and learning have been dissipated by devoted local scholars to prove that exactly the reverse must have been true. Unfortunately, although they have uncovered many lists of books and evidence of a few very large libraries, they have not asked the right questions of their materials [p. 40].

Since Mr. Bridenbaugh uses precisely the same kind of evidence on pages 189-90 of his own treatise to prove that here and there "little oases of dignity and culture could be found" in the back country where men read books, the reader never learns what questions ought to have been asked by the unfortunate local historians of Tidewater society.

Even though readers may find it hard to sort out the realities from the myths in Mr. Bridenbaugh's lectures, they will find many quotations to interest them and pique their further curiosity. Mr. Bridenbaugh has shown the courage of his convictions, and has not allowed the timidity which sometimes besets the scholar to keep him from making generalizations which some of his professional colleagues are certain to challenge. Perhaps the most valuable contribution of these lectures will be the re-examination of the deductions which Mr. Bridenbaugh has made from his evidence. For example, few who have given any thoughtful study to the period will agree with Mr. Bridenbaugh that Jefferson and Madison were "biological sports in the Chesapeake Society" (p. 39) because they were concerned with intellectual matters. Others will disagree with his characterization of the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen as shiftless and often depraved. Indeed on almost every page, the professional historian will find something to question and to arouse him to further investigation, or to a fresh assessment of the evidence upon which Mr. Bridenbaugh has based his generalizations. *Myths and Realities* will be certain to provoke discussion and Mr. Bridenbaugh deserves our thanks for so fearlessly providing a useful stimulant.

*Folger Library*

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

A MIRROR FOR AMERICANS: LIFE AND MANNERS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1790-1870, AS RECORDED BY AMERICAN TRAVELERS. Volume I, LIFE IN THE EAST. Volume II, THE COTTON KINGDOM. Volume III, THE FRONTIER MOVES WEST. Compiled and Edited by Warren S. Tryon. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1952. Pp. xx, 230, v; viii, 231-466, v; viii, 467-793, v. \$5.00 each, \$14.50 set.)

It is time indeed for a collection like this to balance the British view of nineteenth-century America that Allan Nevins made all too familiar to students of American life, and the Continental travelers' observations recently edited by Oscar Handlin. Not that this book is an act of piety; the Americans represented here were critical as well as pleasurably excited about their society. But they seldom wrote as though they were visitors to a zoo commenting with astonishment or disgust on the strange ways of some incomprehensible breed of creature. Most of the unfavorable aspects of American life which European visitors concentrated upon appear in these selections: heavy drinking; lonely settlers catechizing passing travelers; squatters shaking with river-bottom agues and city dwellers infected with the urban fever of hurry-hurry-hurry. But American travelers see these as blemishes, not as essential parts of the domestic scene. There may be too much hawking and spitting, but at least America is not simply one oily, brown spittoon.

One notes another general difference: in contrast to the Europeans, our native travelers seem unphilosophical and unreflective, uninterested in generalizing. They show great curiosity about the peculiarities of the various regions, they are

impressed by the miraculous overnight growth of towns and cities, but except when they are worrying our great national problem—slavery and the Negro—they are seldom inclined to draw any except the most obvious conclusions. In many senses they would seem by implication to bolster the common European criticism of Americans as thoughtlessly, uncritically materialistic. But the orthodox American answer can also be made on the basis of these writings: Americans were *inter alia* idealists, but they took their ideals for granted and felt no compulsion to ponder the implications for democracy of every yokel or every dude.

Mr. Tryon has selected and edited his travel accounts with great skill. He wisely excluded the most famous American travel books as both familiar and readily available: e.g., Parkman, Timothy Flint, Dana, Pike, Frémont. Some that he included are almost as well known, if not so easy to come by: F. L. Olmstead, Josiah Gregg, Lorenzo Dow, Henry M. Brackenridge, George Catlin, Bayard Taylor, and especially Davy Crockett (whose ghosted *Tour to the North and Down East* is a most questionable choice). Many selections are from lesser-known works of well-known writers: Timothy Dwight, Francis Lieber, James K. Paulding, George Ticknor, Samuel Bowles, Horace Greeley, George Fenno Hoffman, Benjamin Silliman. Some of the best, the sharpest and most lively accounts come from people unknown today except to the specialist: Mrs. Anne Royall (my favorite of all the travelers), Philip Nicklin (whose "Pleasant Peregrination through the Prettiest Parts of Pennsylvania" is much better than its title would suggest), William M. Bobo (that may not have been the anonymous author's name, but it is a nice one), Joseph H. Ingraham (a Yankee beguiled by the South), Zerah Hawley (a genteel Nutmegger who regarded the Western Reserve with all the disdain of a full-blooded Britisher), and John L. Peyton (who almost alone among these travelers objected to the attitudes of "the free and independent citizens"). It is easy to suggest different selections—I felt there was a little too much of New Orleans color, and of urban and spa society. But Mr. Tryon's selections are consistently interesting and sensitively varied. Especially commendable is his inclusion of excerpts that are long enough to let us live with one traveler until we get a feeling for him and his scenes, instead of more short ones that would bounce us like a Cook's tour from peak to picturesque peak.

To increase the readability, Mr. Tryon sensibly omitted the customary ellipses for his textual cuts, and even rearranged material and supplied occasional words of his own without so indicating. Less wise, it would seem, was his decision to correct spelling and grammar; the orthographic ingenuity of the less "literary" travelers often adds piquancy to their observations. Especially notable is his index. It lists not only the obvious proper names, and the usual subjects like immigrants, liquor, religion, sports, politics, but it goes on to pull out of the great variety of material even reasonably casual comments on topics such as eating habits, reading habits, dress, diseases, marriages, hacks, snuff, and "streets described and life on."

Physically this is a handsome publication—three slim volumes, boxed, attrac-

tively printed, with well over fifty half- and full-page illustrations and smaller cuts at each chapter head. Possibly too handsome. Here is an ideal book for the teacher of American history. It provides a wealth of wonderful quotations for lectures; it contains the raw material of history, the stuff that can make fresh the stale old generalizations and bring history alive for the students. But it is so handsome that it is too expensive for just those teachers who would most want it. What good is a book if you can't get it?

*Hobart and William Smith Colleges*

JOHN LYDENBERG

ELIAS BOUDINOT: PATRIOT AND STATESMAN, 1740-1821. By *George Adams Boyd*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xiii, 321. \$5.00.)

Now that the giants of American history have received, or are in the process of receiving, adequate biographical attention, the spotlight is more and more being focused on the so-called "minor" figures whose contributions, if not as massive as those of some of their contemporaries, nevertheless did their share to mold the America we know today.

One such figure was Elias Boudinot, the subject of a new biography by George Adams Boyd. Boudinot (not to be confused with his brother Elisha) was not one of the "greats" of the Revolutionary and Federalist periods; but his career was closely interwoven with such men as Washington, Hamilton, and Madison, while his manifold activities plunged him into the thick of almost every important event of those stirring times.

There was nothing complex or puzzling about Boudinot. His character can be plainly read, his every move was predictable. Born in New Jersey of substantial Huguenots, he inherited those traits which seem inevitably to be associated with these refugees from religious persecution—a deep religious feeling, a practical awareness of the goods of this life and a well-developed acquisitiveness.

From his youth it was obvious that he would be successful. By sheer doggedness and persistence, by an abiding if sometimes stuffily sanctimonious belief in the watchfulness of a benevolent deity over his affairs, he rose as high as modest native abilities and the times permitted. He was no figure of glamour, nor was his life the stuff from which romances are fashioned; but his solidity, essential conservatism, and hewing to the single line were perhaps as necessary for the achievement of national stability as the more brilliant flights of men otherwise much his superior.

As commissary-general for prisoners during the Revolution, as president for a term of the Continental Congress, as a member of Congress during the administrations of his friend, George Washington, as director of the United States Mint, as an active leader in numerous educational, religious, and philanthropic movements, he not only became involved in practically every political and social



manifestation of his times but could be counted on to perform his job with a certain sober faithfulness.

Only when it came to men and measures that seemed to threaten the stability of his faith and of law and order as he conceived them, or in connection with the institution of slavery which he abhorred, did he develop violent passions. Conservative to the core, the staunchest of Federalists, a warm admirer of Alexander Hamilton whom he had befriended as a youthful visitant to these shores, he loyally supported the tenets of Federalism to the bitter end. The eventual triumph of Jeffersonianism was for him the crash of everything in which he believed. It was another manifestation of the spirit of anarchy which the French Revolution had helped unleash on a godless world.

Mr. Boyd's biography is that of a diligent student. His research is exhaustive. He has quoted copiously from numerous hitherto unpublished letters, and the historians of the period in which Boudinot flourished will find this book an invaluable mine of source material. In addition, Mr. Boyd's approach to his subject is eminently fair; he neither conceals nor attempts to palliate what appear to him to be faults in his hero.

Unfortunately, he has not done as well in the organization of his material. Everything he uncovered has been conscientiously ladled in, the important and the trivial, without any attempt at selection or subordination, and without an eye to the continuous and even flow of the narrative. As a result the book will prove heavy going for the general reader, or even for the student who wishes to catch the life blood of the man and his times. Yet it is unlikely that it will be necessary in the foreseeable future, now that Mr. Boyd's volume is at hand, to write another life of Elias Boudinot.

New York, N. Y.

NATHAN SCHACHNER

EDWARD HICKS: PAINTER OF THE PEACEABLE KINGDOM. By *Alice Ford*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1952. Pp. xvi, 161, 37 plates. \$8.50.)

EDWARD HICKS, the Quaker minister, sign-painter, coach-maker, and "primitive" artist of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, deserved to have a book written about him. Though he was a poor man of simple tastes, he even deserved a lavish book priced at \$8.50. But one's gratitude for this full-length, well-illustrated volume is tempered by the feeling that a skilled craftsman and sensitive soul like Edward Hicks deserved a somewhat more workmanlike and perceptive treatment than this one.

The materials are all here. Miss Ford prints a good many revealing letters which previous writers on Hicks have not used. She draws helpfully on Hicks's own writings, especially his neglected sermons, to elucidate the iconology of his paintings. She offers convincing evidence that he derived some of his figures—

children and animals—from contemporary engravings, notably Richard Westall's Biblical illustrations. She reproduces the best of Hicks's pictures, including twelve variants of "The Peaceable Kingdom" and the perfectly stunning "Cornell Farm," which she rightly counts among his finest canvases. All this makes her book unquestionably the best treatment of Hicks so far available.

Still, there are serious defects. The footnotes are extremely confusing. There are two sets—one, at the foot of the page, consisting chiefly of references, but in most cases useless, because page numbers are lacking; the other, at the back of the book, largely explanatory in nature, but numbered in a way that bears no relationship to the superior figures in the text. Minor errors of fact are disconcertingly frequent (on page 7, for example, the Newtown Library Company, founded in 1760, is called the third oldest in Pennsylvania, though there were already four library companies in Philadelphia alone by that date). The writing sometimes verges on the fatuous (Hamilton and Burr come to Bucks County in 1776 "with no thought of their coming duel and Hamilton's death" [p. 5]); often achieves the turgid or the inept (Hicks's friends "voiced ideas which further colored his thinking" and he "underwent an increasingly serious and questing turn of mind" [p. 16]). The index is not entirely reliable.

These are mechanical faults. There are other, more serious weaknesses, which prevent the author from giving us a satisfactory evaluation of the two great centralities in Hicks's life—his religion and his art. The statement that George Fox "had been a social reformer to the point where he attracted followers enough to form a sect which used his preachings as dogma" (p. 19) betrays an understanding of Quakerism and Quaker history which is, to say the least, clouded. Though we are told that Edward Hicks played an important role, alongside his cousin Elias, in the Quaker "separation" of 1827, we are nowhere given a clear explanation of the issues which underlay the schism. Repeatedly, Edward Hicks is described as a "primitive" painter; his technique, we are told, is to be "gauged by primitive standards" (p. 120). But one looks in vain for a theory or rationale of primitive art, for a statement of what "primitive standards" are. The comparison with Rousseau, the *douanier* (pp. 43-44), is a promising start, but it is only a start. One puts this book down with the feeling that, though we now have many new details about Edward Hicks's life, we are not much farther along toward understanding the nature or sources of the undeniable charm which his pictures have for our age.

*Huntington Library*

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

THE MARCH OF EMPIRE: FRONTIER DEFENSE IN THE SOUTH-WEST, 1848-1860. By *Averam B. Bender*, Professor of History, Harris Teachers College, St. Louis. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1952. Pp. 323. \$5.00.)

In spite of its grandiloquent title this is a scholarly and restrained treatment of an important area during a significant period. The author describes the Southwest as it was at the close of the Mexican War and shows how Indian policy, military defense, and migration transformed it from a relatively unknown waste into a potential empire within a decade. Chapters are devoted to trails, surveys, forts, military life, and Indian troubles. In fact, six of the fourteen chapters deal with the Indians of Texas, New Mexico, Utah, and California. Attempts to confine the Indians to reservations failed in both Texas and California, and the final solution of the Indian problem was a series of petty wars. Even Professor Bender's clarity and specificity scarcely differentiate the wars he describes from dozens of others which had occurred across the country. In fact, some enterprising author might well prepare a workbook on Indian wars, for the elements and developments are all standardized. He could describe invading settlers, the alarm and resentment of the natives, isolated attacks, pursuits by frontiersmen, slow-moving soldiers from distant forts, insincere negotiations, and unsuccessful treaties. All the major events could be written in full, leaving blank spaces in which the student of a particular war could insert names, numbers, and locations.

Previous studies have described the part which the army played in westward migration and shown how various frontiers were transformed into settled areas. Professor Bender has applied the formula to the vast area from the Sabine to the Pacific. While the number of details gives the book a somewhat catalogic flavor, there are occasional passages of synthesis and interpretation. The notes are overwhelmingly extensive; the bibliography is inclusive to the point of completeness; the pictures instruct as well as embellish; the type is clear and appealing; it is an attractive and definitive book.

The study opens with a curious anachronism. Seeking to prove that the Mexican cession was worth taking, Professor Bender argues that Texas too was a goodly land. Since Texas had become a part of the Union in 1845 this excursion into the potentials of that state seems quite unnecessary. Like the typical proponents of a cause, Professor Bender seems to have become uncritical and enthusiastic. His descriptions of climate, resources, and products lead one to think of the entire Southwest as a truck-gardening area comparable to southeastern Pennsylvania. The harsh fact that it was a desert is not only obscured but denied. The subsequent development of large portions of this region by means of extensive irrigation projects in no way justifies this rosy picture of the area as it was before the Civil War. The reader comes across a contemporary characterization of New Mexico as a land of "burning deserts, parched mountains, dried rivers" (p. 230) and realizes its accuracy, but Professor Bender assures him that this notion is erroneous and was passé by 1861. The repetition of such phrases as "virgin land," "good supplies of grass and water," and "ease and safety of travel" conveys false impressions of the Southwest of any date. The value and importance of this book do not require that its locale be a garden spot and so

the tinted pictures are quite unnecessary, but the reviewer respects and likes Professor Bender's book.

*Los Altos, California*

EDGAR B. WESLEY

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH BEFORE 1860. Volume III, THE RISE OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY. Edited by *Edgar W. Knight*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1952. Pp. viii, 484. \$12.50.)

THIS volume provides a well-edited collection of source materials on the early history of state universities in the region in which American state universities began. It is a work of very substantial value for an important field of American social, political, and legal as well as educational history.

The first two volumes of the series dealt with the beginnings of southern elementary and secondary education in the colonial, revolutionary, and early national periods. A fourth volume will deal with private efforts in higher education. The present volume maintains the high standards of the series as a whole.

The materials range over a wide variety of sources: charters, bills and laws, minutes of governing boards, rules and regulations, letters of educational pioneers like Davie and Jefferson, editorials, etc. They also cover a broad range of university and public problems. Several documents highlight the problem of state tax support for public higher education. Such support was generally feeble or absent, except for South Carolina and Virginia; and a speech in the Texas legislature in 1856 illustrates the widespread public opposition to "making the poor man contribute to educate the rich man's child while his own children labor." Curriculum development is graphically portrayed in outlines of the curriculums of South Carolina College in 1806, 1836, and 1860; in debates over the elective system at South Carolina and Alabama; and in a recently discovered essay by Henry Harrisse on the problems of college education in the 1850's. The problems of academic freedom are exemplified in extracts from Thomas Cooper's defense of himself on charges of infidelity at South Carolina College, and in records of the trial of F. A. P. Barnard, then chancellor of the University of Mississippi, on charges that he was "unsound upon the slavery question" and had accepted the testimony of a Negro against a student.

In reading several of the charters and other records, one is impressed by the fact that in their basic organization the first American state universities were very little different from their prototypes, the nine private colonial colleges. The charters of the universities of Georgia (1785) and North Carolina (1789) created self-perpetuating boards of trustees; and the decision of the state supreme court in "North Carolina's Dartmouth College case" (*Trustees of the University of North Carolina v. Foy and Bishop*, 1805), indicated that the courts then regarded the "state university" as something very like a private corporation.

Although the documents are arranged in strictly chronological order, they

are so well selected that they almost form, in themselves, a history of the early southern state universities. The documents are usually self-explanatory; whenever they are not, the editor points up their significance with illuminating and incisive notes.

*University of California, Berkeley*

WALTON BEAN

ON FREEDOM'S ALTAR: THE MARTYR COMPLEX IN THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT. By *Hazel Catherine Wolf*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 195. \$3.75.)

Miss Wolf finds chattel slavery to have been made "the most disquieting of all issues" of the 1830-1860 period, and principally by propagandists "in the best tradition of the term." The abolitionists, she believes, brought to their work an earnestness and zeal "not so characteristic" of fighters for women's rights, temperance, and lesser crusades which she notes, and others, like education, pacifism, and anti-capital punishment which might properly have been considered in the generalization. This may be seriously doubted, and contrasts with her own awareness that "the abolitionist attitude came from the integration of the martyr concept with a new humanitarianism." The origin of this new humanitarianism constitutes a problem in itself. Its precise relationship to the larger issue of sectional strife still another.

*On Freedom's Altar* consists largely of a succession of accounts of individual "martyrs," including John Woolman, Charles Osborne, Benjamin Lundy, Garrison, Elijah P. Lovejoy, Charles T. Torrey, Jonathan Walker, and others who emerged, particularly in the 1830's and 1840's—the list is repeated on numerous pages, but its composite significance is not probed. What is contended is that their experiences had a cumulative effect upon Northern opinion. The study appreciates that the two decades before the war began saw an "Appeal to Ballot and Statute," and abolition politicalized, but argues that it was the emotional impact of abolitionist appeals which made compromise between the sections impossible, particularly after the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* returned abolitionism "to the realm of a moral crusade." John Brown is made to symbolize "a new antislavery synthesis" of humanitarianism and political abolitionism; from this point of view the war becomes a fight for freedom which claims such new "martyrs" as Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth and Lincoln himself.

There are obvious controversial aspects to this account. Lincoln, if he was a "martyr," was certainly an unwilling one. His character and views hardly put him in a category with Garrison. The agitators themselves represented every shade of the abolitionist spectrum, and their personalities and programs were much more distinctive than Miss Wolf's surface narrative shows them to be. The actual effect of instances of "martyrdom" proper is, again, more debatable than this study supposes. Whether the war "gathered momentum as a crusade for humanitarian principles"—how much the North and its troops kept Lovejoy

and Torrey in memory—needs more demonstration than is here provided; the moral letdown of the postwar years can be better explained if one takes such factors as free soil, protectionism, and the state-rights issue into more integrated account.

Miss Wolf's protagonists have merited individual treatment and are here brought usefully together, and in most attractive format. *On Freedom's Altar* places undue confidence in such works as the four-volume life of Garrison by his children. Malin's *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six* is a more challenging work than her use of it might seem to indicate. There is more dependence upon early writings about and personal memoirs of some of her abolitionist figures, and even upon accounts in reference sources like the *Dictionary of American Biography*, than their importance to this study makes desirable. But in several cases at least, the fault is partly in the state of monographic materials, which deserve to be augmented in terms of modern research and revaluation.

Antioch College

LOUIS FILLER

BENJAMIN HARRISON: HOOSIER WARRIOR, 1833-1865. By Harry J. Sievers, S.J. Introduction by Hilton U. Brown. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1952. Pp. xxi, 344. \$5.00.)

This first volume of a projected two-volume work is a welcome addition to the scarce biographical material on America's twenty-third President. From the Benjamin Harrison papers made available by the Library of Congress and from other sources Father Sievers has culled much interesting detail and anecdote surrounding the first thirty-two years of Harrison's life, from birth on his father's Ohio farm to his adoption of the legal profession in Indianapolis and his activities in the Civil War.

Although the author makes little or no attempt at analysis or interpretation of the various influences on young Harrison's life, the inference is almost inescapable that the greatest influence was his thorough and effective indoctrination in the Calvinist faith by scrupulously moral parents. The passages from Harrison's letters—especially those to his parents—reflect a man constantly aware of the presence of his omnipotent God. Nor is there much doubt that Benjamin was secure in the conviction that he was one of the elect. He also found solace and stability in his strong sense of belonging to a first family of America, one that had produced a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a President of the United States.

If Harrison grew into something of a prude socially and if he was not very interesting intellectually—he eschewed novel reading as morally degrading—his milieu stimulated the development of soldierly virtues, and Father Sievers is most effective in his portrayal of Harrison as a courageous, resourceful, and conscientious Union officer during the campaigns in Tennessee and Georgia. Through



Harrison's correspondence with his wife we are given a taste of some of the grimness of Civil War combat.

Since Harrison was a product of the Old Northwest in the ebullient era of men like Joshua R. Giddings, Theodore Dwight Weld, George W. Julian, and Ben Wade, Father Sievers might have profited by a more searching consideration of his subject's relations with such men and of his reactions to the issues they debated, particularly since Harrison came to be known chiefly in the field of politics. For even though the achievement of a balance between the man and his times is perhaps the biographer's most difficult task, it is one that he is obliged to attempt.

Father Sievers' effort to place Harrison in the tradition of America's self-made men is certainly unnecessary, and it involves him in some unfortunate inconsistencies. For, while the Harrisons suffered the occasional financial ups and downs that most families experience, it is difficult to obscure the fact that Harrison received invaluable aid from family and friends at every step along the way. Tutors and college educations were more uncommon than common in Harrison's day.

The most significant years of Harrison's life came after 1865. Hence we may expect that the second volume will be a more important contribution than this first one. It remains to be seen whether Father Sievers can achieve the apparent goal of his sponsor (the Arthur Jordan Foundation of Indianapolis) by establishing Harrison "on his proper pedestal as Indiana's first citizen."

University of Maryland

PATRICK W. RIDDLEBERGER

LINCOLN THE PRESIDENT: MIDSTREAM. By J. G. Randall, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1952. Pp. xv, 467. \$7.50.)

SEVEN years ago the first two volumes of what promises to be the definitive biography of Abraham Lincoln were published under the title of *Lincoln the President*. The second of these volumes closed with the battle of Gettysburg. The third volume of this splendid work, which is here reviewed, is concerned primarily with the stirring events and the challenging problems of the year 1863. Hence the title *Midstream*. With the exception of a concluding chapter—a portrait of Lincoln under the title of "This Strange, Quaint, Great Man"—the volume closes with the decisive battle of Missionary Ridge.

Unlike the conventional chronological narrative characteristic of so many biographies Professor Randall has chosen to write a series of seventeen chapter-essays. Each deals with a subject of major importance and contributes to the better understanding of Lincoln and the vexing problems confronting him midway in the bitter struggle for the preservation of the Union. The first four chapters for example, "Presidential Days," "Lonely White House Pair," "Attention of the President," and "The Gift for Laughter," are replete with material—

much of it new—which opens wide the door to intimate and personal aspects of Lincoln's life hitherto unknown or imperfectly understood. In these pages Mrs. Lincoln appears in a new light. Instead of being a neurotic shrew, a rebel at heart, a Confederate spy in the White House, and a liability to her husband, she is portrayed as a good wife, a charitable and hospitable woman, a loyal Unionist, and a helpful mate. Professor Randall readily admits that at times she was emotionally unstable and irrational and wanting in self-control in an emergency. On the other hand, unprejudiced evidence indicates that the Lincolns "were a close-knit couple" and thoroughly devoted to each other.

The evidence assembled by Professor Randall also indicates conclusively that Lincoln's humor was far from consisting of a series of ribald jokes and off-color stories. In this connection the author's interesting brief comparison of Lincoln and Mark Twain, whose lives were in striking contrast, is penetrating and suggestive. His conclusion that they would have understood each other because of their Americanism, their humor, and their understanding of the human heart is not likely to be seriously challenged.

Though Professor Randall believes that it is impossible to recover the inner story and the over-all significance of the Lincoln administration or to paint a full-length portrait of Lincoln the man or to resurrect in complete detail the trying and varied problems which he faced, this third volume, in the opinion of this reviewer, closely approximates reality. The author's account of Lincoln's daily routine, for instance, the letters and personal appeals, speeches, serenades, receptions, military reviews, interviews, army visits, and the endless stream of conferences with secretaries, cabinet members, generals, office seekers, and political spokesmen were enough to tax the strength of any mortal. If we add to these the ever-present concern about the war itself, the political and international situation, and the haunting memory of the death of his son, Willie, in 1862, we are better able to understand the man's endless patience, his mental and physical stamina, and, above all, his greatness of soul. No account of Lincoln is richer in evidence of the man's tremendous moral stature than in *Midstream*.

The other essays in this book are devoted to Lincoln's relations with an unco-operative Congress; to his exercise of war power involving the suspension of habeas corpus and the arrest of "Copperheads" including Vallandigham and others suspected of being sympathetic toward the Confederacy; to the political picture in 1863 with emphasis on state politics; to the draft, especially its repercussions in New York; to relations with Great Britain; and to the Chattanooga campaign in which the Confederate brigadier-general Ben Hardin Helm, the husband of Mrs. Lincoln's favorite sister, Emilie, was killed.

It is impossible within the limits of a brief review to do justice to these essays. One, however, should be briefly mentioned, namely, chapter XIII in which relations between the United States and Great Britain are re-examined. Here Professor Randall points out that in the past historians have been prone to stress the

*Alabama* activities to the neglect of the *Peterhoff* and *Alexandra* cases and the Laird rams. The latter and not the *Alabama*, he holds, furnish the clue to the controlling pattern of British policy in war.

Content alone, though important, is only one reason why this particular volume is a most impressive contribution to this monumental work. Even more significant is the brilliant workmanship on the part of its author. A lifelong student of Lincoln and probably the greatest living authority on the Great Emancipator, he has brought to his task not only great erudition but a maturity and a philosophic-mindedness which adds immeasurably to the final product. To those young men and women about to enter upon a career in history this reviewer would recommend *Midstream* as a model of historical research, method, interpretation, and expression.

The essay on the opening of the Lincoln Papers which is included as an appendix adds to the value of the book.

Columbia University

HARRY J. CARMAN

LINCOLN FINDS A GENERAL: A MILITARY STUDY OF THE CIVIL WAR. Volume III, GRANT'S FIRST YEAR IN THE WEST. By Kenneth P. Williams. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. xiv, 585. \$7.50.)

It has long been noted that the basic source for the military history of the American Civil War has been the multivolumed *Battles and Leaders*, wherein, decades after the events, the "leaders" had the opportunity to review the "battles" and give a rational explanation of their own conduct. The few military historians who went behind such afterthoughts have relied on the "reports," made weeks, months, and even several years after the events, and carefully segregated in parts of volumes of the monumental *Official Records*. Only recently, dating perhaps from Colonel A. L. Conger's *Rise of U. S. Grant* (1931), and followed notably by D. S. Freeman, have military historians penetrated deeper into the *Official Records* to study the "orders" and the "correspondence" issued on the spot and at the moment of military operations. The exploitation of these documents sheds new light on military history and reveals the inadequacies and rationalizations of the "reports" and the *Battles and Leaders*.

Kenneth P. Williams is attempting to discuss the history of Civil War campaigns from the evidence contained in the strictly contemporary records. His first two volumes dealt with the eastern theater from the beginning of the war to the eve of the arrival of Ulysses S. Grant on the eastern front in early 1864. His third volume, concentrating upon Grant with only incidental reference to other events in the west, deals in detail with Grant's battles of Belmont, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, and Shiloh. He has examined the orders and correspondence in detail, and deals with them at such length that the work frequently becomes more of a gloss on the documents than a narrative of Grant's career. Even

so, it is a relief to find a military historian rejecting the rationalizations and the glamorized syntheses of the *Battles and Leaders* to dig for the contemporary documents.

Unfortunately, however, a tone of distinct bias runs through the volume on Grant's first year in the west. The first two volumes were distinctly anti-McClellan, and the author's commentaries mounted in intensity until it seemed to the reader that Little Mac could do no right. With Grant, however, it would appear that he could do no wrong. The battle of Belmont, for example, which many competent commentators have considered ill-conceived, here appears as a well-executed operation of strategic significance. Historians and contemporaries, too, have seen more than a modicum of luck in Grant's career. Mr. Williams gives no space to the smiles of fortune. His editorial comments on the documents find hidden meanings in the most innocuous statements and show Grant ever alert and constantly apperceptive. One must indeed wonder why Lincoln—who, incidentally, plays no part in the volume—could have been so long finding his general.

Yet this volume, for all its pro-Grant bias, may not be dismissed with a facetious comment. Mr. Williams, by simply going to the sources, has cut a pathway through the entangling myths. He gives the mooted question of the "surprise" at Shiloh the inattention it so richly deserves—even though he does magnify a picket skirmish into a Federal attack on the advancing Confederates! Without minimizing his discourtesies to Grant, the author deals sympathetically with Henry W. Halleck, and gives that much-maligned general more credit for military competence than he usually receives. He effectively demolishes the military accomplishments of Anna Ella Carroll. The volume is not as critical as Conger's study nor as broad as Colonel J. F. C. Fuller's, but it is more thorough than either. It is not the Northern answer to Freeman's *Lee*, but it is a clear step in the direction of a thoroughly documented, critical military history of the Civil War.

*University of Wisconsin*

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

THE RAILROADS OF THE CONFEDERACY. By *Robert C. Black, III*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1952. Pp. xiv, 360. \$6.00.)

THE NORTHERN RAILROADS IN THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865. By *Thomas Weber*. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 318. \$4.00.)

WHEN the opening of the Civil War thrust upon American railways their first wartime experience, the North had a comprehensive network of substantial lines; the South owned a cheaply built series of roads with so few vital connections that there were only two through routes between Richmond and New Orleans. While most Northern railroads felt the war only through substantially increased traffic, hardly a Southern company escaped fighting adjacent to its lines. Only

when faced with the gravest emergency were the railways in either region willing to sacrifice their own advantage for the common good. The Northern carriers, soon after the war started, established rates on government traffic which lasted for the duration; but the Southern, battling paper currency, periodically increased their charges. The Northern railways made considerable profits; on paper those of the Southern earned even more, but inflation's toll caused them actually to lose. Northern locomotive engineers were exempt from the draft; at first almost all Southern railroaders were too, but later many had to enter the army. Southern employees' wages were slow to increase, but probably the whites were better off than the slaves who sometimes held such responsible positions as brakeman.

Although the Northern government had the legal power to seize any line, its Railroad Bureau operated only routes in the immediate war zone. This group of civilian experts enforced the following fundamental rules: tolerate no interference from army officers; unload cars promptly; send nothing to the front unless actually needed soon; and dispatch trains in convoys rather than in an irregular flow of "extras." The Southern Bureau, a tiny affair, tried to persuade the lines to do as the government wished. Powerless, except to use diplomacy, it could not give to vital war goods a freight priority nor prevent arbitrary military commanders from seriously disrupting the carriers' operating plans. The South finally passed an adequate railway control bill, but so near the end of the war that it was useless.

Both Northern and Southern lines executed several long-distance troop movements which played a vital role in military strategy; the latter often had to use very roundabout routes. Both complained of the rough usage soldiers inflicted upon their cars. Companies in both areas, for the first time, carried a considerable volume of through traffic. The Northerners, interchanging equipment and expanding their intercarrier fast freight lines, laid the basis for many postwar consolidations. Southern carriers, more handicapped by diversity of gauges, almost always refused to let their cars off their own lines even when it was physically possible. In the two regions the carriers suffered from equipment shortages but that of the Northerners was seldom acute. They began shifting from iron to steel for rails and from wood to coal as fuel. The Southerners' ingenuity was heavily taxed merely to keep their property operating and, despite their best efforts, it deteriorated badly. They secured additional rolling stock as the Confederacy's inner lines of communication contracted and made available more equipment for fewer miles of track. They abandoned a few routes to secure rails. The South, with government aid, built four short lines, including a vital link in North Carolina, and connected carriers serving different parts of the same city. The North also constructed some new railroads but placed chief emphasis on double tracking and more sidings. Each suffered deliberate destruction from the enemy, but the North was more effective in both demolition and reconstruction. Its demolition experts heated, twisted, and bent rails so that they were per-

manently ruined. Its repair specialists, aided by ample supplies, devised such methods as interchangeable parts for new bridges to speed rehabilitation.

Dr. Weber intended only to study the war and the Northern railroads, but Dr. Black surveyed all aspects of Confederate railway history. Both consulted company annual reports, federal documents, and material in the National Archives. Dr. Black made considerably more use of newspapers and periodicals; he also consulted state archives and state documents. Dr. Black's book, higher priced, fortunately contains a good set of maps which provide vitally useful aid. Both volumes are well-executed contributions to the history of the Civil War and of railroads. Dr. Black, exploring his entire subject with commendable thoroughness and neatly connecting his special problems with the broad stream of Confederate history, has written with such style that his book is outstanding for literary excellence.

*University of Idaho*

WILLIAM S. GREEVER

CONSCRIPTION IN THE UNITED STATES: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. By *Jack Franklin Leach*. (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Publishing Company. 1952. Pp. x, 501. \$5.75.)

THIS study covers the period from the Constitutional Convention to the Civil War. Since there was no conscription on a national scale before the Civil War, the first section tells in 129 pages what Americans thought about compulsory service. It surveys well the arguments at the time of the Constitutional Convention and the debates in Congress during the War of 1812, but not much more. As the author has made national conscription his sole theme, he has not studied the haphazard draft of militiamen undertaken from 1812 to 1814 by some of the states.

This book frees students of the need to search through the *Annals of Congress* for speeches on conscription during the second war with England; Dr. Leach has done so for them. He has, however, merely presented the debates, leaving his readers to sort out and relate the ideas themselves. Had he picked out the important strains and summarized them, he could have saved many pages, and, at the same time, greatly enhanced the readability of his work.

The last three quarters of the monograph, which deals with the Civil War, is full of value. In addition to debates and ideas, it includes a history of the draft in action. From it, telling points emerge. Choosing just one to illustrate their nature, we find that draftees themselves, by means of substitutes, decided whether or not they were to be exempt. This was the natural working of *laissez faire* applied to military service.

Being a Ph.D. thesis, the book displays characteristic strengths and weaknesses. Among the latter are these: It cuts a segment of American history away from the whole, leaving loose ends. Readability suffers because of abundant footnote



material in the text, and vice versa. Finally, because no data are supplied for the intervals of peace, the reader bumps, uncushioned, from war to war.

On page vi, Dr. Leach says, "Universal selective service is an essential attribute of democracy in arms and an absolute necessity in any genuine program of national security." He soon adds (p. 1) that national conscription "rests . . . on expediency pure and simple—and rightly so." Later, he gives the permanent significance of compulsory service (p. 453). "The draft act of 1863 was the first great precedent which has resulted in the assumption by the national government of supreme power over the entire manpower resources of the country." He has not documented these generalizations in such a way as to convince every historian, but they liven the monograph and honestly present the author's frame of reference.

The strength of the book lies in its wealth of useful information on the draft during the Civil War. Thoroughly and accurately presented, this data will be of use to all students of humanity, for the problems raised by the need to conscript men reach to the core of society. The book was printed in Japan by the photo-offset method. The format is drab and the proofreading inadequate.

*Washington, D. C.*

JOHN K. MAHON

FAIR TRIAL: FOURTEEN WHO STOOD ACCUSED, FROM ANNE HUTCHINSON TO ALGER HISS. By *Richard B. Morris*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1952. Pp. xv, 494. \$5.00.)

If a reader familiar with "whodunits" were to look first at the chapter titles of this book, he might conclude that Erle Stanley Gardner has yet another pseudonym. He would see such headings as "The Fate of the Flagrant Adulterer," "The Case of the Morphine Murder," and "The Clergyman, the Choir Singer, and the Pigwoman" among others. But he would be mistaken. The fourteen cases in this book are from real life and the author is a learned historian who has made important contributions to American legal history in the past and does so again in this book. Furthermore, the fourteen chapters are done in a style that is vivid: no one after reading this book can assert that fiction is more interesting than fact.

Each chapter, beginning with the trial of Anne Hutchinson, follows a pattern. The historical setting is given first. Then follows an account of the trial in which quotations from the proceedings are woven together by a narrative commentary which carries the story along. Most of the chapters conclude with commentaries on the changes in legal concepts and procedures during the course of three centuries which focus on the question posed by the title: Did the accused have a fair trial? Professor Morris is deeply concerned with the problem and nowhere does it show better than in his account of the trial of Alger Hiss. In these hysterical days it is heartening that a historian concerned with the law has written such a

chapter. He is not concerned with the question of guilt but with the deviation from standards of legal and judicial procedure that guarantee any accused man a fair trial.

A prodigious amount of work went into this book as a glance at the bibliography will show. Readers' personal interests will decide that this or that chapter is the best. My own preference was for the trial of Captain Kidd, perhaps because I learned so much from it. For sheer entertainment, the trial of Bathsheba Spooner and no less than three lovers for the murder of her husband would be hard to beat. The land of Sam Adams during the American Revolution had a lot more going on in it than the history books ever tell us. This case, along with those of the Harvard Medical School murder and of Dan Sickles should be required reading for those commentators who deplore the low moral standards of the present and look longingly at those good old days before 1860 when they assume, quite wrongly, that all women were ladies and all men were gentlemen.

*University of Wisconsin*

MERRILL JENSEN

RENDEZVOUS WITH DESTINY: A HISTORY OF MODERN AMERICAN REFORM. By *Eric F. Goldman*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1952. Pp. xiii, 503, xxxvii. \$5.00.)

"ROOSEVELT, we progressives never beat the conservatives because they, wanting to disturb nothing, and maintaining a purely defensive position, have the cohesiveness and resistance of a closed fist; but we, being determined to make progress and each knowing best how it should be done and being therefore utterly unable, any of us, to support any others of us, have about as much striking power as you'd expect from the fingers of an open hand, each pointing in a slightly different direction." These words, spoken by Wilson to young Franklin D. Roosevelt, express well the dilemma of the reformer. To be a reformer, he must know that he is right, and knowing that he is right, he must turn a deaf ear to any compromise with "principle." The querulous nature of reformers, whether they call themselves radicals, liberals, or progressives, is one of their greatest handicaps. They pull together with such difficulty, and they pull apart with such ease. And yet, the record of reform achievement, as set forth in this book is little short of remarkable.

This is not a history of reform movements, or even of reformers, but of reform thought. What were the reformers thinking about, and what weight did their ideas have in the scales of later American history? The author starts his study with the patrician liberals of the Tilden school who, in Carl Schurz's words, wanted a government "which the best people of this country will be proud of." He continues with the Georgists, the Farmers' Alliance men, and the Populists, all agrarian reformers who objected to the way in which the cards were being stacked against the little fellow. He then goes on to the Progressives of the twentieth

century, many varieties and several cycles of them, not excepting those who preferred to call themselves liberals. He bears down heavily on Reform Darwinism as a counterweight to Conservative Darwinism, and points out how some reformers who would hurry history were ready to disregard means on their way to greatly desired ends. All of the principal "isms," economic determinism, pragmatism, relativism, parade across these pages, as fairly and honestly portrayed as their most convinced devotees could ask.

Quite understandably, the men who really accomplished reforms were not those who were tied hand and foot by a consistent philosophy. Mostly, the successful reformers merely played by ear. Theodore Roosevelt's New Nationalism postdated his activities as President; Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom in prospect and in practice were two quite different things; the New Deal and the Fair Deal were mere catch-all phrases. Nevertheless, to subtract from the reform total the achievements of the two Roosevelts, Wilson, and Truman would leave quite a void. What matters, when all is said and done, is how far reform actually has progressed. Certainly the economic status of millions of Americans has been notably improved. The middle class is not so much being squeezed out of existence as it is being obliged to accept into its growing ranks workers whose pay checks compare favorably with white-collar salaries. Civil liberties, as much the reformer's ideal as economic security, are less blatantly transgressed with each succeeding decade—the year 1952, according to Tuskegee Institute reports, witnessed not one Negro lynching. No doubt the reformer, as "the gad-fly and the conscience" of the nation has had something to do with all this. Ironically, however, wars and defense spending, both usually decried by reformers, have also played a part. The question of the hour is, Can the gains that have been made be retained and expanded?

The writing of this book is a notable achievement, not only because it draws together so much of significance in the history of reform but because it is written with such verve and vigor. The author pitches his narrative high up on the lyrical scale, and one wonders at first if he can last it through. But he succeeds, and, on the whole, without too much evidence of strain. There are those who might wish—the reviewer is one of them—that he had not chosen the title of his book and the chapter headings with such utter abandon. "Rendezvous with Destiny" is a fine Rooseveltian phrase, but not much more relevant here than "Salvation by Grace." As for such chapter headings as "Bejabers, I'm Worth Me Thousands," and "God-Dammit, Let Them Build It," the Roman numerals, unattended, would have conveyed quite as much meaning. But the author of so fine a book can certainly be forgiven such minor faults, if faults they be. He even provides us with that greatest of rarities, an admirable index.

*University of California, Berkeley*

JOHN D. HICKS

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT, 1897-1912. By *Ira Kipnis*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. 496. \$6.00.)

FOR over a half century, the Socialist party has had to be reckoned with as an important educational force in the economic, political, and cultural life of the United States. It has never attained the political stature of socialist movements of many European and Asiatic countries, but many of its demands for political and economic reforms made in one decade were, in the following years, incorporated into the laws of the land.

Although the message of the socialist movement has been carried to the American people during the last few decades by eloquent and effective spokesmen, of whom Norman Thomas is the most outstanding figure, the Socialist party passed through its greatest period of activity and growth in the first dozen years of the present century. It was in those years that the party seemed, to large numbers of its friends and opponents, to be destined to become one of the major political parties of the country.

Morris Hillquit, in his *History of Socialism in the United States*; Nathan Fine, in his *Labor and Farm Parties in the United States*; and Daniel Bell in his essay in Princeton's study, *Socialism and American Life*, have, among others, dealt briefly with American socialism in the early days of the century. It has remained for Dr. Ira Kipnis, assistant professor of history in the University of Kentucky, however, to present a thorough account of the party's program and tactics during these active years.

Professor Kipnis begins his history with a description of the several years of socialist agitation in the Socialist Labor party, the Social Democracy, and other groups, prior to the presidential candidacy of Eugene Victor Debs and the Unity Convention of 1901. He then gives a careful, year-by-year account of the important happenings in the party and the relations of the party with the A.F. of L., the I.W.W., and with middle-class political, church, and civic groups. The book ends with a vivid description of the fight between the moderate socialists led by Hillquit, Berger, Spargo, and others, and the syndicalistic element within the I.W.W. led by William D. Haywood. The year 1912, which marked the ousting of Haywood from the National Executive Committee and the fourth candidacy of Eugene Victor Debs for the presidency, also marked the peak of socialist membership and political strength in the United States. In referring to the party's activities and accomplishments from its birth to 1912, the author writes:

From the twelve years from the time of its organization [to 1912], the American Socialist Party grew from considerably less than 10,000 to 150,000 dues paying members. It increased its electoral strength tenfold, from 95,000 to 900,000. It elected well over two thousand of its members to public office. It secured passage of hundreds of reforms, and contributed to the adoption of many times more. It won position and influence in the American Federation of Labor and led in the organization of a small but militant revolutionary union. It publicized inequities in American economic, social and political life, and participated in the struggle to restore substance to the nation's democratic ideals. Clearly, whatever may have

been the objective difficulties in advocating socialism in the wealthiest and most democratic capitalist country in the world, the Socialist Party had achieved some notable successes.

In his description of the fight between the democratic socialists and Haywood, the author, in the eyes of this reviewer, fails to present the case of the "constructive" socialists fairly and fully, nor, in condemning the "Right and Center" for ousting advocates of violence and sabotage, does he show how it is possible in a democratic country to build up a genuine political party on the basis urged by Haywood and his I.W.W. followers.

In his concluding chapter, Dr. Kipnis places most of the blame for the gradual decline in the membership and influence of the party on the "constructive" socialists. In so doing, he fails, I believe, to give adequate weight to the fundamental social and political conditions of the country, as a retarding factor in the growth of the movement. He bitterly criticizes the party leadership for alleged lack of democracy, for their "opportunism," their "desire for power and office," their "chauvinism," etc. While the moderate socialists had their faults, few of the sweeping charges which Dr. Kipnis enumerates are substantiated by him in the main body of his text, nor can they be substantiated. In many cases, as when the author quotes Victor Berger on strikes, he gives to the reader an entirely false idea of the general attitude of socialists toward trade union activities. The same is true of the socialists' attitude toward the rights of women, of Negroes, *et al.* Nor can one form any idea by reading this volume of the amount of ability, idealism, and dedication that went into the movement or of the real influence of the movement on social legislation, trade union development, and constructive social thinking during these days. He says scarcely a word, for instance, about the tremendous influence of socialist propaganda on the development of the powerful and progressive needle trade unions of New York City.

The student must be grateful for the manner in which Dr. Kipnis has thrown light upon many phases of the socialist movement in this historic decade, for the vast amount of socialist literature which he brings again to public view, and for his extended bibliography. His survey is presented clearly and vividly, and the book throughout is thoroughly documented. Yet, the reader must conclude that a full and realistic history of this period and other periods of the movement has yet to be written.

New York, N. Y.

HARRY W. LAIDLER

PIONEER'S PROGRESS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *Alvin Johnson*. (New York: Viking Press. 1952. Pp. x, 413. \$5.00.)

THIS autobiography is remarkable for the long and fruitful span of life which it records, for the rich and varied contents, and for the humor which the author plays upon every chapter. Mr. Johnson was born in Nebraska in the pioneer home of emigrants from Denmark, who came with the rush of settlers at the close of

the Civil War. His early schooling interfered very little with his education. He learned more in the old-fashioned farm home and by living in a community of mixed origins. Politically the community was active. At the organization meeting of the Farmers' Alliance held on his sixteenth birthday, Mr. Johnson was elected to the office of lecturer, a position nobody wanted. During the next two years, by reading the Alliance propaganda and the adverse comments in the newspapers, he put together for himself the elements of a peaceful revolution. At the time he enrolled in the University of Nebraska, he saw little choice between the Democratic party and the Republican party. Early in life, by favoring the Populist party, he learned that "if you want to live at ease in the political world, be a practical reactionary. . . . It is much harder to live at ease, or even in peace, as a liberal."

The author's academic career was interrupted by service in the war with Spain. After his discharge from the army, he entered Columbia University with his mind made up to quit the classics and to equip himself for teaching economics, political science, and international relations. This decision inaugurated a distinguished career in which industry, wide contacts, and outstanding ability won for him professorships in Bryn Mawr, Columbia, Nebraska, Texas, Chicago, Stanford, Cornell, and the New School for Social Research. The author is brutally frank in exposing the inside workings of faculties and the falsehood and sham in the academic world. He had often discussed with Herbert Croly projects for a new educational institution. They envied the London School of Economics because it was not "handicapped by mobs of beef-devouring alumni, passionate about football, and contemptuous of scholarship. The London School had enjoyed unchallenged liberty through the war; in America professors departing by a hand's breadth from the prevailing war doctrine were fired." In addition to teaching Mr. Johnson served from time to time on the editorial staff of the *New Republic* and encyclopedias and on a number of committees and boards. His experience with pressure groups began in 1910, when he joined a group of economists assembled in Washington to overhaul the traditional census schedules and to prepare for a census that would tell the truth about American economic conditions. The proposed schedules were handled with scorn by the permanent census staff, who regarded any proposed change as of the devil, and the National Association of Manufacturers denounced them as subversive. "I came away from Washington somewhat disillusioned," he writes, "but the experience had been highly educational."

In his concluding paragraph Dr. Johnson dares not ask the reader, "Have I missed anything?" for fear that he might reply, "Yes, you missed a good many excellent places to stop." Perhaps one reason why this reviewer found no such "excellent places" is because every chapter bears witness to the honesty of the author's statement: "Never in all my life have I given a hoot for personal security."

*University of Minnesota*

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: THE APPRENTICESHIP. By *Frank Freidel*.  
(Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1952. Pp. 456. \$6.00.)

In projecting a life of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Professor Freidel has, very much to his credit, started upon a challenging and difficult task. His first volume gives us the assurance that that task will be well performed, that the research will be extensive, the conclusions from that research persuasive, and the tone objective without being colorless. It is this last matter of tone that provides the greatest difficulty for the biographer. The preoccupations of the professional historian sometimes run toward hypercriticism. It is easy to lose sight of the essential greatness of a great man in the midst of a mass of detail. It is easy to lose something of the color of a striking figure in one's desire to keep personal judgments out of the account.

On the whole, Professor Freidel has met this difficulty well. The Roosevelt who emerges from his pages is a man of flesh and blood, and one in whom are already discernible both the strengths and the weaknesses that characterized his later career. There is no hero-worship and no over-depreciation.

What were the qualities that made this scion of privilege, who might have led the life of a country gentleman, become one of the great American public servants? In his youth the two dominant influences seem to have been Endicott Peabody, the headmaster of Groton who never ceased to preach the gospel of public service, and Theodore Roosevelt, who fired his cousin with something of his own enthusiasm for a political career. After college and law school there intervened a few years of the practice of law before his candidacy for the New York state senate in 1910. But once embarked upon public life Roosevelt had many qualities that ensured success. His warmth and humanity made him a progressive; his associations kept him always aware of the conservative point of view. From the beginning he was acutely aware of the sentiments of his constituency but he was no merely conventional representative of the farmers of his district. He could move cautiously, but in a period of progressivism he usually came out on the liberal side. He had genuine idealism, and perhaps more sincerity than later in his career, but he was also canny, and his political instincts were soon developed by that extraordinary figure, Louis Howe.

All this is a good deal. But what Professor Freidel brings out is something more. When Roosevelt went to Washington as Assistant Secretary of the Navy he was still a fledgling in politics. He did a job there which Freidel, forsaking his usual detachment, describes (and quite properly) as magnificent. He was an excellent administrator; he kept on good terms with his chief while pressing for more rapid and inclusive action in building up the navy; contrary to the views of his later critics, he had a well-developed financial sense. He was also, like his great cousin, more aware than most Americans of his time of the inevitably great role which physical force plays in international relations. His liberalism was impregnated from the beginning with realism.

One gets, too, in the pages of this book a sense of the gusto which Roosevelt brought to his work and to the furthering of his own ambitions. If it be anything to live with a deep pleasure in life itself, to be master of one's situation, then Roosevelt was already on the way to being a notable figure. One sees in the young politician of the second decade of the century the foreshadowings of the Roosevelt of the Presidency. We shall get no better picture of the formative period for many years to come.

*University of Rochester*

DEXTER PERKINS

SIDNEY HILLMAN: STATESMAN OF AMERICAN LABOR. By *Matthew Josephson*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1952. Pp. 701. \$5.00.)

A MATTHEW Josephson book is an event of literary importance. His portraits of American businessmen in *The Robber Barons* popularized an interpretation which a generation of business historians has been trying to "correct." His biography of a labor leader, Sidney Hillman, is not likely to create a similar sensation, but it is also an important work. While in *The Robber Barons*, Josephson's pen was dipped in vitriol, his biography of Hillman oozes honey. A strong point but at the same time a defect of this generally splendid account is that the writer has fallen in love with his subject. Josephson writes with enthusiasm but at times Hillman seems just too good.

Hillman came to the United States in 1907, a twenty-year-old shabby immigrant from Lithuania. The ex-rabbinical student became a "damn poor pants cutter" first in New York and then in the shops of the Hart, Schaffner and Marx tailoring firm in Chicago. He concentrated not so much on trousers as on the plight of his fellow workers. At great risk and personal sacrifice he worked to build a labor union and proved himself not only a hard-fighting, crafty strike leader but also a man of moderation who was ready to compromise and work in good faith with his former adversaries. The Hart, Schaffner and Marx management-labor agreement which he developed was a widely followed model for industry.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which became one of the larger and more stable unions in the United States, was the lengthening shadow of Sidney Hillman. After 1933, Hillman extended his work as a government labor adviser, as a code maker under the NRA, and as an important participant in building the CIO. Hillman was labor's chief representative in the defense program. He sought to spur labor to greater efforts, while protecting its social gains. He and the other "Ellis Island Kid," William Knudsen, together headed the Office of Production Management, which for a time directed the defense program. Because it was "smart politics," Roosevelt passed him by in 1942 and selected Paul V. McNutt to head a newly created War Manpower Commission.

Hillman remained loyal to the President. As a leader of labor political action

in 1944, he held the balance of power at the Democratic National Convention. Roosevelt's health was delicate, and the selection of a vice-presidential nominee was a matter of more than usual importance. Roosevelt is said to have told Democratic leaders in connection with the choice of a candidate, "Clear it with Sidney." Hillman, as "king-maker," did not have sufficient influence to put over Henry Wallace's nomination, but he was able to block James Byrnes. He was in large measure responsible for the choice of Harry S. Truman as a compromise candidate for Vice-President.

A few errors crop up in the book. The War Department in 1941 did not favor antistrike legislation. Some of the footnoting is weak. For example, the work cited without date as "John Ohly, Memorandum for the War Department on the NAA Strike" is one that most historians could never find. Yet, on the whole, the documentation is adequate for works of this kind, and factually the book is quite accurate. Most important of all, Josephson has achieved a simply written, beautifully told story which clearly delineates Hillman's achievements, while at the same time expressing the strivings and fears of an important segment of the labor movement between 1910 and 1945.

*Washington, D. C.*

JONATHAN GROSSMAN

THE MEMOIRS OF HERBERT HOOVER: THE GREAT DEPRESSION,  
1929-1941. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. xv, 503. \$5.00.)

THIS third volume of Mr. Hoover's memoirs carries further the combative tone of its predecessors, despite Hoover's attempt at "the restraint of a post-mortem" (pp. v-vi) and his statement that he was "well fortified" to accept philosophically the end of his popularity (II, 4). The human appeal of the chapters on his youth has evaporated. Hoover claims to have "rested criticism of Mr. Roosevelt's policies by other persons upon statements of his sometime associates rather than on quotations of his Republican opponents" (p. vi), but "independent views" include those of William Starr Myers (p. 164); and Carter Glass, James Farley, Raymond Moley, and George Creel testify at length. Drawing heavily (and with unwavering approval) on his own published statements, Hoover puts little shading into his picture: before the New Deal "every President had . . . sought to maintain a balance" on the Supreme Court (p. 378), appointing "solely on the basis of character and mental power" (p. 333); the Hawley-Smoot tariff was right, whereas devaluation of the dollar "greatly destroyed our foreign trade" (pp. 403, 405-406). At the same time Hoover has harsh words for the Liberty League of 1934 and the "Wall Street model of human liberty, which this group so well represents" (p. 455), and for businessmen and bankers who proposed an NRA (pp. 334-35, 420), contributed to inflation, and spoke of the "New Economic Era" (pp. 5, 17, 19, 125).

Historians cannot use these volumes without great caution. Comparison with the published sources is not reassuring. Hoover reprints even the passage from his

speech of October 31, 1932, where he defended his pledge of August 11, 1928, quoting it as "‘given a chance to go forward, we shall, with the help of God, be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation.’ . . . I do not withdraw a word from it" (p. 343). But in 1928 he had said "given a chance to go forward with the policies of the last eight years, and we shall soon," etc. (*New York Times*, Aug. 12, 1928, p. 2:3). He cites a warning of "thirty prominent economists" (actually twenty) that "the gold standard of present weight and fineness should be unflinchingly maintained" (p. 199) but ignores their emphasis on eliminating the trade restrictions involved in high tariffs and in international debts: "Credit rests on the movement of goods as well as on the gold supply" (*New York Times*, Jan. 3, 1933, pp. 1:5, 14:4-6). The book would be a more effective apology if it were less inaccurate and if its impressive narration of measures to combat depression were not interrupted by statements such as that many men "left their jobs for the more profitable one of selling apples" (p. 195), that about two and a half million persons went on the public relief rolls because of the burden of New Deal taxes on businessmen who had been maintaining their own relief activities (p. 449), and that Roosevelt deliberately forced the banks to close in order to force through drastic emergency legislation (pp. 202-16, 357). Hoover's bitterness is understandable enough, in view of some of the irresponsible criticism of the last twenty-three years, and we have seen parallels to such ex-presidential moods in this century with no greater provocation, but a heavy responsibility to posterity rests on those who have access to files that in general remain closed while the archives of a later administration are open to some of its warmest critics. While he has contributed enormously to historical scholarship in other fields (and his donations include the royalties from those volumes), apparently Hoover has been too sensitive to illuminate adequately his own period and part in American history. Perhaps a picture closer to fact and fairer to Hoover himself than we have had will take shape when historians move in the archival remains of his administration as at Hyde Park; his memoirs and the books that have appeared under his imprimatur are not likely to bring it soon into focus.

*University of Oregon*

EARL POMEROY

CHAMPION CAMPAIGNER: FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. By *Harold F. Gosnell*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. viii, 235. \$3.50.)

ON the basis of an analysis of Franklin Roosevelt's family background, his youth, and his campaigns for public office in state and nation, Dr. Gosnell concludes that the late President's remarkable record in winning elections was due essentially to his personal qualities and to the impact of his personality upon the general public. The support of the bosses and the large-scale spending of public money do not account for the first electoral successes which confirmed his choice of a political career, for he fought Tammany Hall as a candidate for the New York state senate and he ran for governor in 1928 and 1930 and for President in

1932 on platforms that stressed economy. However, after 1914 he never openly defied Tammany again, as he "did not try to bring about reforms on all fronts at the same time." Since his majority in 1932 exceeded that of the democratic candidates for Congress in most of the states outside the South, that success too was to some extent a personal triumph. Much, of course, is made of the "golden voice," the "infectious smile," his "charm," his liking for people, his gift for coining effective slogans, his masterful use of the radio, his courage, optimism, and self-confidence. The political significance of his successful struggle with physical infirmity, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's great contribution to his success, and the aid of such devoted friends as Louis Howe and Samuel I. Rosenman receive due credit.

Experience taught him skill in timing and other political techniques that none of his opponents ever rivaled. There are numerous incidental references to F.D.R.'s personal intervention in party affairs, but this side of the story is less fully developed. The "gold mine" in the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library should contain riches for further investigation. It would seem that few fundamental changes were made in the structure of the Democratic party, that the party acquired little of the centralized, disciplined organization of the European mass movements. The country was indeed fortunate that Roosevelt's electoral victories were won and the resulting New Deal accomplished in the main within the framework of the traditional party organization and political procedure. While Dr. Gosnell has not concerned himself with these matters, he has told well the story he has chosen to tell, perhaps with more satisfactory supporting evidence in the early chapters. There are, however, indications of haste in composition and some irritating typographical errors. The reader is astonished to learn (p. 113) that "F. D. R. in his long political career never preached class welfare."

*Duke University*

E. MALCOLM CARROLL

VENTURES IN DIPLOMACY. By *William Phillips*. (Portland, Me.: Privately printed by Anthoensen Press. 1952. Pp. 464.)

PHILLIPS says in the introduction, "These recollections do not purport to be a detailed record of my years in government service. Essentially they are of a personal and informal character, set down for the especial benefit of my family." This explains at the outset that the book is not intended to be a serious contribution to history. The narrative contains nothing of historical value which is not already generally known, and the author seldom comments on the meaning or importance of the events of which he was an interested observer. The story of his sojourn as ambassador in Rome is more complete than that of any other period, but here, as well as elsewhere, political events are subordinated to personal experiences. It is interesting to note that even during the most dangerous days, when Italy was preparing to enter the war and the poorer classes were hungry, sometimes almost starving, because food was so hard to get and so expensive, the

lavish dinner parties of the Roman nobility went on just as usual. One cannot help thinking of the ball in Brussels, so well described by Thackeray, which went on during the battle of Waterloo.

At his various diplomatic posts, or on his different official missions, Mr. Phillips covered most of the world with the exception of Latin America. As the first American minister, he opened the legation in Ottawa. He was chief of mission in Brussels, The Hague, and in Italy. Everywhere he met the principal men of the various foreign governments just as he knew intimately some of the most important men in the American government, and in most cases gives a short description of them. But even here there is nothing revealing for the historian. Phillips discovered in them the same characteristics others have found, which are often evident in their lives and writings. Diplomats have a way of liking the government people at their various posts or else of intensely disliking them. Phillips took the better and safer way of liking them, but almost equally warm encomiums of two such different men as Churchill and Ciano seem to show lack of discrimination. His hero was Franklin D. Roosevelt, although he does, even if rarely, criticize the Roosevelt stubbornness, which, on D-Day for example, made the landing in France more difficult and dangerous.

The book, which is excellently written, reveals Phillips as a man of character, of dignity and refinement, one who would always worthily represent his country abroad. It accomplishes just what the author intended in that it gives a pleasant and interesting picture of American diplomacy at work.

*Washington, D. C.*

WILLIAM R. CASTLE

**FLEET ADMIRAL KING: A NAVAL RECORD.** By *Ernest J. King*, Fleet Admiral, U.S.N.; Commander in Chief, United States Fleet, and Chief of Naval Operations, 1941-1945, and *Walter Muir Whitehill*, Commander, U.S.N.R.; Director and Librarian, Boston Athenaeum. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1952. Pp. xv, 674. \$6.75.)

ADMIRAL King's memoirs have been worth waiting for. As it stands, this book is one of the most useful contributions to American naval history. It would have been even better had the authors told all they could have. It is a "semiautobiography" written by the same method as the Stimson-Bundy *On Active Service*. Whitehill, now director and librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, spent considerable time in King's wartime headquarters as a reserve officer.

The book falls into two parts, exactly even in length. Its most obvious interest lies in its picture of the naval high command after King received his two posts of "Cominch-CNO" (Commander in Chief, United States Fleet, and Chief of Naval Operations) following Pearl Harbor. There is real value, also, in the detailed account of King's varied naval activity during the previous forty-odd years. The book might be profitably read along with Admiral Andrew Cunningham's recent



*A Sailor's Odyssey*, which recounts a similar distinguished career in the Royal Navy during the same years.

Throughout the whole work one finds hitherto unpublished accounts of "how things worked" throughout the Naval Establishment. These give the book particular value in view of the lopsided status of our naval history. The United States Army and the Royal Navy each have ample administrative analyses. The history of the United States Navy, however, has clung pretty much to the original "blow-by-blow" approach; this account of the shooting naturally has the strongest appeal to the average reader. The Navy sponsored two multivolume operational histories of World War II, but it deliberately broke up its administrative history program while it was in full swing; this was analyzing the whole evolution of the Naval Establishment from 1798 to 1947. At the same time, Connery's excellent study of naval procurement ran into obstacles that fortunately only delayed its publication. Consequently, there is much material in the King memoirs of a sort that cannot be found elsewhere, and as a source for administrative history, it will find a place along with the *Diary of Gideon Welles*, Admiral Bradley A. Fiske's *Midshipman to Rear Admiral*, and Elting Morison's brilliant biography of his father-in-law, Admiral Sims.

King came to his high wartime position with an unusually wide variety of service. In addition to more routine assignments, he had served on the Atlantic Fleet staff in World War I and had been intimately associated with both submarines and aviation. It was the general consensus that no one else was as well fitted for the World War II job. That job really consisted of three parts which, in their demands upon King's time and interest, divided more or less as follows: member of the Joint and Combined Chiefs of Staff, 65 per cent; Commander in Chief, 30 per cent; Chief of Naval Operations (concerned with logistics), 5 per cent.

In the Joint and Combined Chiefs, his greatest contribution lay in preventing the agreed-upon primary emphasis upon Europe from completely stifling the Navy's opposition to Japan in the Pacific. Except for the distant fulminations of MacArthur, King's was a lone voice but a most insistent one. He was also insistent upon maintaining momentum once the trans-Pacific drive started and was perhaps the first to appreciate the full strategic significance of the Marianas. King attended all the great policy-making meetings from Argentia to Yalta and Berlin. One could wish that more of the ideas brought forward in the give-and-take behind the decisions had been included; the occasional peeps are merely tantalizing and must be supplemented by the revelations in the Churchill, Sherwood-Hopkins, Stimson-Bundy, Leahy, Cunningham, and other volumes. The detailed analyses now being prepared in the historical section of the Joint Chiefs of Staff by Captain Tracy B. Kittredge, Lieutenant Grace P. Hayes, Vernon E. Davis, and others are likely to remain highly classified and inaccessible to outsiders for years.

Despite all the stories of King's contentious behavior in the Joint and Com-

bined Chiefs, there is, with one exception, a remarkable absence of personal animus in this book. Even the British, who complained to Leahy of their treatment at King's hands, wind up in this volume with the statement that "King greatly liked both his naval colleagues."

The one exception is Secretary Forrestal, who is the target in seven sharp pages (pp. 629-36) at the end of the book. Forrestal, like King, was brilliant, sincere, and tough; one of Secretary Frank Knox's valuable contributions was his acting as a sort of emotional buffer between them in the early years of the war. A principal bone of contention was the control of material procurement policy; Naval Operations had handled it and been found wanting, so Forrestal brought it under civilian control. The effort to control this field was a major cause of King's repeated efforts to reorganize the wartime Navy Department. There is very much more to the story than appears in the brief account here, which might have included the rather brutal little note that President Roosevelt handed the admiral. Likewise, the plan to take away the CNO functions from King early in 1944 went further than this account indicates. This anti-Forrestal attitude, shared by some other naval officers, may hasten the appearance of the projected volume on Forrestal and the Navy.

The publishers have done an excellent job with the work, which shows every promise of living up to their slogan of "Books That Live."

Harvard University

ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION

THE HISTORY OF CANADA OR NEW FRANCE. Volumes I and II. By Father *François du Creux*, S.J. Translated with an Introduction by *Percy J. Robinson*. Edited with Notes by *James B. Conacher*. [Publications of the Champlain Society, XXX, XXXI.] (Toronto: the Society. 1951, 1952. Pp. xxviii, 404, xv; viii, 405-775, xv.)

RECENTLY a copy of the sumptuous original Latin edition of this work (Paris, Cramoisy, 1664) was priced at \$250, in itself a justification for the present handsome limited edition in English translation. It contains reproductions of the title page, maps (one additional), and illustrations, but not of the headpieces to the ten books into which it is divided. The elegant, lively translation and an informative introduction are by the author of *Toronto during the French Regime* (Toronto, 1934) and other studies of early Ontario, and the somewhat sparse editorial commentary on the text is largely the work of a younger scholar at the University of Toronto. Professor Conacher has corroborated the assertion that the *Historia* is largely a selective abridgment of the *Jesuit Relations, 1625-1658*, and he has assisted the reader by marginal references to them. Du Creux, somewhat in the manner of Peter Martyr at the court of Spain a hundred and fifty years earlier, in 1643 set himself at work to break through European apathy toward the great Jesuit enterprise in Canada by composing, in the international

language, an exciting example of literary art. He made a vain appeal for canonization of the martyrs, several of whom he knew. He incorporated what he learned from conversations with returned missionaries and from a lost letter of Father Jacques Bonin on the martyrdoms of Brébeuf and Lalemant whose contents are unavailable elsewhere. He was also able to bridge the gap caused by loss of the *Relation* for 1655. He used every dramatic device with notable success.

His book is not a true history of early Canada. He did not use the narratives of Cartier and there are but slight traces of Lescarbot, Sagard, and other early chroniclers. He drew heavily on Champlain, using him, quite appropriately, as an example of piety, but he studiously ignored the Récollets, who preceded his own order as missionaries, and he slighted the Montreal mission which was the domain of the Sulpicians. What he aimed at and achieved was a series of classically written episodes designed to communicate the missionary fervor, sublime courage, and thrilling adventures of members of his own order. He ended with the destruction of their Huronian enterprise, and it was perhaps significant that his work was published just as Louis XIV took over Canada as a royal province.

As Robinson points out, the most serious historical lack is of attention to the economic enterprise that chiefly sustained Canada but also involved the French in a rivalry with the Dutch and the Iroquois that culminated in destruction. Robinson remedies this, and indicates the enigmatic antagonism between Fathers Paul Le Jeune and Charles Lalemant and between policy-making groups in France, by publishing letters of Jerome and Charles Lalemant about the desirability of rooting out the Dutch. By his didactic commentary on his European and Indian actors in a great variety of circumstances, Du Creux reveals himself as an austere and censorious person, a warrior of the Counter-Reformation more intolerant than the dogma of his church before and since. Considering the natural, well-known tendency of the Jesuits to exaggerate their success and their inability to penetrate the motivation of the Indians, the chief historical value of the work is its intimate, abundant revelation of the Catholic Revival in France and of its militant proselytism on a wild frontier.

The technical editing is careful, with rare small slips and minor consequences of the dual editorship and of the separate publication of the two volumes. The combined index is serviceable. The footnotes might well have been more abundant and generous, particularly by way of reference to economic and imperial history and to the publications in cultural anthropology which Professor T. F. McIlwraith has been recording critically in the *Canadian Historical Review* for almost thirty years. Non-Canadians may learn here of Canadian scholarship, especially the archaeological reports by Father A. E. Jones and his successors in Huronia, but historical readers generally might have profited by realizing how much light the anthropologists have been providing.

Columbia University

J. B. BREBNER

BETWEEN THE RED AND THE ROCKIES. By *Grant MacEwan*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1952. Pp. x, 300. \$3.50.)

THIS is in many ways an engaging book. Attractively produced with useful maps and pleasant line drawings, it is written with the verve and zest of one who loves the story he has to tell. The author, Grant MacEwan, was born and bred on the prairies, trained in agriculture both practical and theoretical, and, with a natural love of his country and its legends, has learned to speak of the great pioneers as he might of his friends and neighbors.

There are stories here from almost every decade of the past century and a half and from almost every district between the Red and the Rockies. The flat, fat lands of the Red River Valley, the rolling country of the Saskatchewan, the wild cattle ranches of the foothills are seen in every phase from the age of the Red River cart and the single hand plow to the present day when planes penetrate the once mysterious north and combines cover the thousand-acre farms.

Mr. MacEwan loves his subject and invites his reader to share his pleasure. He is capable of precise descriptions (as of the Red River cart, p. 43), pleasant humor, and occasionally of a truly stirring passage as when he describes the stubborn courage and endurance of the Canadian cowboy:

For two days the riders on one Alberta ranch remained with the cattle, allowing them to drift, but guiding them away from fences and other pitfalls. For miles and miles the riders and their faithful mounts felt the sting of the icy blizzard and for two days had neither food nor rest. In that herd no cattle were lost, notwithstanding an average wind velocity of sixty and a half miles per hour for eighteen consecutive hours.

Altogether there is in the book much pleasant and informative reading, and many tales of early times that are well worth preserving.

On the other hand, the work as a whole is disappointing. There is no subtitle to give precision to the picturesque vagueness of the title. The publisher's blurb suggests and the author's preface seems to state that this is a kind of history of western agriculture. It is certainly not that, nor could it be. Mr. MacEwan with all his pleasant humor and his romantic affection for a great past which has produced a glorious present, is no historian. Apart from the special works which he has consulted for this and a previous even slighter book, he seems to have no knowledge of Canadian history. He lacks the historian's faculty for combining mastery of facts and logical analysis with that exercise of imagination necessary to produce one whole clear picture of the past. He even lacks the capacity to carry through a simple narrative of any length, as is abundantly demonstrated by the chapter on Pat Burns sending meat to the Klondike. His great gift is for simple anecdote, and for short and colorful descriptions. Even here, the student of history is not well served, as there is no attempt to separate legend from history, or to indicate (even in the preface) the sources from which much interesting factual material is drawn.

This series of sketches of different aspects of western agriculture in the past no doubt contains historical material of value but it is not history and can hardly fail to be a disappointment to the serious student.

*University of Saskatchewan*

HILDA NEATBY

THE STATE OF LATIN AMERICA. By *Germán Arciniegas*. Translated from the Spanish by *Harriet de Onis*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1952. Pp. xvi, 416, xiv. \$4.50.)

GERMÁN Arciniegas occupies a leading place among contemporary Latin-American liberals. He has a wide acquaintance with Europe and America and though he is primarily a writer and a student of literature he is no denizen of an ivory tower, having filled political positions of importance in his native Colombia. His report on *The [Present] State of Latin America*, therefore, merits serious attention.

As a survey the volume has definite limitations: little or no attention is paid to economic and social aspects of contemporary Latin America. Politics in a narrow sense (country by country, except for the Central-American and Caribbean republics which are summarily covered in two chapters) is the main theme. More general chapters are included on the question of press-freedom, the place of the military in politics, and relations with the United States and the Inter-American system.

The main contribution Arciniegas makes is to present an interpretation of the current antiliberal trend toward the police state in Latin America. He holds that it is a concerted movement centering on Buenos Aires and with tentacles throughout the continent. It is "fascistic," tyrannical, antipopular, and militaristic. It represents a conflict between the "people," who are democratic and want freedom, and "dictators." There can be no doubt that there are many common elements in the present governments of Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela and that the influence of Peronismo is strong and widespread in South America. The military plays a key role in all these regimes; traditional liberal constitutional government is abhorred; anticommunism is loudly proclaimed and usually there is also a close affiliation with the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church; labor unions are closely controlled. Yet, in spite of these similarities, there are many differences which appear even in Arciniegas' pages, but to which he does not concede much importance. For example, the governments mentioned above vary widely with regard to (1) degree of clerical influence, (2) emphasis on the *Führerprinzip*, (3) activity in welfare policies, and (4) relations with old-line "oligarchical" interests. This by no means exhausts the list of possible contrasts. Similarly, the governments of opposing tendency (Chile, Uruguay, Ecuador, Mexico, are some so designated by the author) also vary in the extent to which they may be considered in fact "liberal" and "democratic." The author makes little or no attempt to explain why it is that the antiliberal trend is now so strong.

Greater attention to the sins of commission and omission of preceding governments in the countries which have moved to the right, and a greater correlation of the social and economic facts, of which Arciniegas is well aware, with the political phenomena he relates would have made the book more valuable. However, Arciniegas should not be blamed for all this. He has aimed at presenting to the American man in the street a ringing appeal to note the eclipse of liberty in many of our fellow republics and he has done this with truth, eloquence, and deep conviction.

Arciniegas is also right in calling attention to the constant repetition of liberal and democratic formulas by dictatorial regimes and the complacent acceptance of such double-talk by American functionaries. Whether the good relations of the United States with certain antidemocratic Latin-American governments really strengthen such governments and associate the United States in responsibility for the continued existence of the latter is a moot question. Any other policy would undoubtedly call forth loud complaints against "interventionism." Similarly, the provision of modern armaments by the United States to these governments may be less important than Arciniegas seems to believe. Lacking a general disarmament, there is nothing to prevent a government from buying arms elsewhere (British jetfighters, as in Argentina) or making them at home (Argentine tanks!). However, it is true that American tanks and planes in the hands of a dictator are often interpreted as symbols of American approval and thus weaken the moral position of this country.

Arciniegas' pessimism about the immediate future is justified. Since he wrote, constitutional government was rudely interrupted in Cuba; terror has been intensified in Colombia; and in Ecuador, Chile, and Bolivia new governments represent a turn to the right in varying degrees. However, rather than a long future of concentration-camp placidity it is more likely that both the authoritarian and the more liberal regimes will have to cope with the increasing mass discontent that surges through the continent, and that there will be little peace in our time in Latin America until slogans, propaganda, and ideologies of right, left, and center give way to concrete satisfaction of these popular demands. Meanwhile, American readers of this very moving book are presented with a situation of which they, as citizens of so powerful a state, must take cognizance. Germán Arciniegas might well follow up this book with another about possible means to cope with it.

Vassar College

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

BOLIVAR. By *Salvador de Madariaga*, Hon. Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. (New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy. 1952. Pp. xix, 711. \$10.00.)

THE eminent Spanish historian, one of the most caustic contemporary critics of the *leyenda negra*, derides in his foreword the "myths" that Bolívar and San Martín were "St. Georges slaying the dragon of Spanish tyranny." Part I especially and numerous comments—scattered among the multitudinous details of



marches, countermarches, skirmishes, battles, campaigns, the plots and counterplots of generals and foreign offices—develop this unifying theme. Madariaga does not completely reverse the roles. As in his *The Rise of the Spanish American Empire* and *The Fall of the Spanish American Empire*, he points out the essentially Christian attitude taken by Spain in her new lands. But, for example, Ferdinand VII was “infamous” and vied with his father in “baseness” (pp. 104, 108). The chief causes of the revolutions in Spanish America were “the selfishness of the European-Spanish commercial classes in both the new and the old world; the high-handed action of some Spanish authorities towards the representative aspirations of their peoples; the short-sighted and inexperienced policy of the provisional governments of Spain; and the separatist ferment which had been fostered in the American Juntas by an active and skilful minority” (p. 111). European Spaniards, Creoles, the clergy, and “the castes” fought on both sides, the only clear issue being hatred. Hence, it is “irrelevant” who started War to the Death (p. 199).

Nor does Madariaga portray Bolívar and San Martín as monolithic villains. The index lists the following characteristics of Bolívar: bored by administration, ambitious, aristocratic-proud, astute, autocratic, brave, capable, frugal, generous, genius-intellect, grateful, heroic, impatient, insincere, lavish, fond of luxury, mobile-swift, subject to panic, pretorian, ruthless, saturnine, undisciplined, fond of women. But the balance definitely swings against Bolívar, for he was not only “brave and even rash,” but “cowardly and even contemptible” (p. 276). He was also adept at forging papers and such a dyed-in-the-wool propagandist that hardly any of his assertions can be taken at face value (p. xiii). Madariaga ascribes many of Bolívar’s unlovely traits to his Negro and Indian blood which came into the family most probably through one great grandmother who was almost certainly “dusky” (p. 17). “The *pardo*, or mulatto,” the author asserts, “comes out not merely in a number of physical features—his crisp and bristling hair, his lower lip, his jet-black eyes, the elongated skull—but in that exuberance, that buoyancy, that turbulence which often bursts forth boisterously in him, his immoderate love of dancing, his sexual appetite, a tendency to gaudiness and to sensuous joys, in opposition to Castilian austerity, his torrents of Eau de Cologne.” Some of Bolívar’s bitter denunciations of Spaniards can be understood, Madariaga adds, only if one remembers that the Liberator was a mestizo, “the shiftiest character in America.” Otherwise, one denunciation in particular “would have sufficed to have him housed in a lunatic asylum” (pp. 75–76). San Martín can also be understood only in the light of his mestizo blood and the schizophrenia that results from the mixing of bloods. The two impulses that drove both the Liberator and the Protector were “Napoleonic ambition and *mestizo* vindictiveness” (p. 425).

Bolívar was great because of this Napoleonic ambition, his Machiavellian duplicity, his superiority in sheer power of will and mind, “his almost insane will to power” (p. 551). He delivered Miranda in order to ingratiate himself with the Spaniards. He outwitted San Martín at Guayaquil. One of the main purposes of

the Congress of Panama was "to widen the area of his authority and prestige over the whole of Spanish America" (pp. 533-37). He dissembled his desire to be an uncrowned king because he was intelligent enough to know that assumption of the title would destroy his popularity, the basis on which he built his ambition. Madariaga especially commends Bolívar's intelligence which distrusted republicanism and his preference for a "monocracy" as outlined in his Angostura Address, his comments on conditions in Peru and his statement as reported by Maling, a British secret agent, in 1825.

The author bases his conclusions on a prodigious amount of research which he himself did in many private and public archives in Latin America, the Quai d'Orsay, and the Public Record Office. He also relied heavily on Ducoudray-Holstein and José Francisco Heredia and on the Lecuna edition of the *Cartas del Libertador*. Madariaga's fluent English rendition of the two-volume Spanish edition published in Mexico City, 1951, is a joy to read even when the harshness of the tone is somewhat repelling. For a balanced and temperate view of Bolívar one must turn to other recent biographies such as the volume by Gerhard Masur.

Howard University

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

THE LIFE OF SARMIENTO. By *Allison Williams Bunkley*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 566. \$7.50.)

It is difficult to write with becoming objectivity about the book of a brilliant young scholar whose death left his work incomplete. Disturbing questions arise. Given time, would not Mr. Bunkley have eliminated many of the recurrent and awkward repetitions which mark his book with an immaturity of style which by no means corresponds to its maturity of thought? In what proportion is the bibliography the work of the author? Yet, despite such questions, it is now the book itself which must be considered, and as it stands.

On the whole, it is a useful book which makes a definite contribution to the field of Sarmiento studies. Its chief value derives from the fact that Mr. Bunkley dared attempt the gigantic task of a complete biography of Sarmiento and that he had been given the opportunity to utilize source materials previously unknown in the United States. A third aspect of his book—its attempted interpretative study of the thought behind Sarmiento's actions—is of more controversial worth.

Although it is not true that "there are no important works on Sarmiento's life in English," a factual account of Sarmiento's life in its relationship to his time has long been needed. With its long biographical introduction written from materials supplied by Sarmiento himself, Mary Mann's great pioneer *Life in the Argentine Republic* was far more than any mere "translation of *El Facundo*," and the relative "importance" to be derived from the length of other biographical studies on Sarmiento is a subjective evaluation. But it is true that none of these earlier studies, including Mr. Bunkley's own introduction to Stuart Grummon's *A Sarmiento Anthology*, attempted a biographical account which should relate

Sarmiento's life in any detail to the time in which he lived. This task Mr. Bunkley has now fulfilled admirably and with peculiar success in conveying a sense of the inter-relationship of the national histories involved and yet in refusing to allow the complicated historical background to obtrude upon the biography.

In the utilization of new material, the book is somewhat disappointing. For example, while Mr. Bunkley refers to "about 12,000 unpublished letters and manuscripts from or to" Sarmiento in the archives of the Museo Histórico Sarmiento in Buenos Aires, his bibliographical note gives scant particularized information about this collection, and an analysis of footnotes indicates remarkably little actual use of the material. A rough count indicates that out of some 961 notes, only 83 refer to material in the Museo and even of this number many items are from published correspondence. In comparison, an almost equal number of notes (80) refer to such well-known Spanish biographies as those by Rojas, Guerra, Gálvez, and Palcos. One of the most interesting discoveries of source material was in the National Archives of Chile, represented by some 22 notes: again, however, the reference to "a volume with very interesting letters of Sarmiento to . . . Quiroga Rosas . . ." is hardly acceptable bibliographical procedure. Undoubtedly a statistical count of footnotes is no absolute indication of utilization of material, but it does serve to document a general impression. In contrast an excellent contribution of this book is in the indication of the contents of many a newspaper article written by Sarmiento.

The bibliography (pp. 521-48) is badly done, with frequently inadequate descriptions of individual items, notable lack of selectivity, and a general carelessness in proofreading which did not occur in the text. The index (pp. 549-66), however, was done with exceptional care, but unfortunately by one ignorant of the niceties of Spanish nomenclature.

Since Mr. Bunkley tragically can never revise his book, it seems pointless to note here the long lists of misspellings, examples of incorrect use of accents, wrong capitalization in Spanish titles, errors in use of words, etc. His *Life of Sarmiento* can stand as the proud achievement of a young scholar who dared attempt a complex biography before sound research had cleared up the individual pieces upon which any definitive work on Sarmiento must eventually be based. We need more studies like those which Mrs. Alice Luiggi has been publishing in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (May, August, 1952). But until such basic research is done, Mr. Bunkley's book will stand as the best account yet of Sarmiento's life in relation to his time.

*Albuquerque, New Mexico*

MADALINE W. NICHOLS

MEXICAN REVOLUTION: GENESIS UNDER MADERO. By *Charles Curtis Cumberland*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1952. Pp. ix. 298. \$5.00.)

HERE is an excellent study of the political and military phases of the Madero revolt. The social and economic aspects, however, do not receive the treatment they deserve.

Madero's revolt—hardly a revolution—was one of many, each with its roots in festering ills. The masses were hungry; tens of thousands were homeless and clamoring for land. There was general economic distress, all of which was charged to the dictatorship of Díaz. But dictatorship alone was not responsible for conditions, as the rebels were soon to discover.

In analyzing the situation, Dr. Cumberland begins with Díaz. It seems to this reviewer that an outline should have been given of the colonial system and the course of history from Iturbide to Benito Juárez and the Constitution of 1857. Things, conditions, do not spring *sui generis* into being, and the fifty years back of Díaz were not and could not have been ignored by him. He drew on the past for such elements as fitted his program.

As dictator, Porfirio Díaz skillfully managed the people. He held the country generally at peace. Outside interests and investments were brought in and great material progress was made. Dr. Cumberland devotes some space to this development, albeit occasionally with exaggeration. For example, he says that "textile mills were built by the hundreds" (p. 6).

Perhaps the worst factor in unsettling the affairs of Mexico was the adoption of the gold standard in 1905. Dr. Cumberland has ignored the import of this, and its impact. Measured by gold, silver held a premium. The result might have been foreseen. Bankers and smart traders gathered up the silver, coined and uncoined, and exported it at great profit. There was practically no specie left to carry on ordinary business. The masses were loud in their complaints. To add to the difficulties, there were crop failures.

Mexico was caught in the so-called Banker's Panic of 1907. Before the end of the year José Ives Limantour, minister of Hacienda, had borrowed 25,000,000 francs from the Banque de Paris. But revenues continued to fall, due to rumble and agitation which spread over the republic like wildfire.

Before the end of 1909, revolts—most important that of Orozco—broke out in various places. These were inspired by political motives, augmented by economic distress. Then, on February 14, 1911, Madero crossed the Rio Grande, and the war was on. But from the first, things went badly. He could bring no harmony into the ranks of his followers. There were sporadic uprisings here and there; and to add to the confusions the rebels, as they advanced, looted the banks and preyed on the countryside. The end was in sight for the dictator.

Although Díaz held sway for thirty-five years, he apparently did not realize that Mexico was moving forward and that a new mode of life for his people was needed. He resigned on May 25, 1911. De la Barra succeeded him, but already the condition of the treasury was alarming and 20,000,000 pesos had been borrowed in New York. De la Barra was unable to stabilize the country. Madero became president on November 6, 1911. He found only confusion and rebellion about him. There were Zapata, Orozco, and other rebels to deal with, and conspiracies within the ranks of his own followers. When the treasury was nearly empty he borrowed 40,000,000 pesos, which saved the situation for the time being.

At this critical moment one of the most disturbing factors was United States-Mexican relations. Dr. Cumberland is far too mild in his castigation of the role played by our ambassador, Henry Lane Wilson, who was strongly on the side of the *Científicos* and was not a little to blame for the fall of Madero. On February 21, 1913, Madero was shot in a *coup d'état* led by Huerta.

Dr. Cumberland's book is well indexed; it has a full bibliography and many references, indicating a tremendous amount of research. The author is to be praised for his industry and for the pleasant style in which he has presented his story. He proposes two additional volumes dealing with the Revolution. It will be interesting to see them.

*Austin, Texas*

WALTER F. McCALEB

## \* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

### General History

GUIA DE PERSONAS QUE CULTIVAN LA HISTORIA DE AMERICA. Edited by *Juan Almela Meliá*. (Mexico, D.F., Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, 1951, pp. vi, 507, \$25.00 [m.mex.]) As a part of its program of encouraging intellectual co-operation among historians of the Americas the commission on history has published a welcome directory of "persons who cultivate the history of America" which brings together data which exist elsewhere only in scattered form. It is easy to pick flaws with a publication of this nature, for satisfactory inclusiveness, up-to-dateness, and accuracy are extremely difficult to attain. The method used in preparing this guide, however, seems open to criticism. The commission had a file of historians with whom it was in touch and sent them questionnaires, asking at the same time for additional suggestions. The result is a very haphazard list. Men as well known as Guillermo Furlong, Hildebrand Accioly, and Jorge Basadre are not included. In the United States, to give only one example, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., is listed but his eminent parent is not. Americanists who have contributed to history but who are usually classified under other disciplines are not covered (Carl Sauer, T. Lynn Smith, G. E. Nunn), and a long list could be made of reputable American historians (both of those interested in Latin America and of those in United States history) who are omitted. Herbert E. Bolton is not listed. A more satisfactory result could have been obtained by reviewing the various current historical bibliographies to make sure that authors of studies of importance were not left out. Typographical errors are unfortunately numerous. One historian is listed twice, under different spellings of his surname.

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN, *Vassar College*

THE CORRESPONDENCE, 1701-1711, OF JOHN CHURCHILL, FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, AND ANTHONIE HEINSIUS, GRAND PENSIONARY OF HOLLAND. Edited by *B. Van't Hoff*. (Utrecht, Kemink en Zoon, 1951, pp. xix, 640.) In this volume are brought together the letters exchanged between the duke of Marlborough and Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary of Holland in the important period from 1701 to 1711. Marlborough was both ambassador extraordinary to the United Provinces and commander of the English forces assembled there. Heinsius' position was somewhat anomalous. In the ramshackle government of the United Provinces Heinsius was for all practical purposes foreign minister, but he enjoyed this de facto position by virtue of his office as the chief magistrate of Holland, whose influence in the federation was paramount. In his biography of his illustrious forebear, Winston Churchill uses the term "Dutch Republics." This expression strikes one as strange but it is nevertheless a fairly accurate description of the actual state of affairs. Marlborough and Heinsius played leading roles in the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV, especially in the early years of the great coalition of powers. In this collection of letters between these two important figures there are, however, few which deal with diplomatic and political questions apart from the conduct of military campaigns. They deal almost exclusively with military matters, and for this limited scope they are, of course, of great value. During the decade covered by this correspondence Marlborough and Heinsius exchanged over a thousand letters; there are 1,014 in this collection. Of these 606 are by Marlborough. The letters of Marlborough



to Heinsius are practically complete but a number by Heinsius to the duke are missing. Heinsius generally had copies made of his letters but sometimes his secretary lacked the time to make them. Most of Marlborough's letters are in English, a few are in French. All of the Dutch statesman's letters are in French, often very poor French. This compilation of letters was made from Heinsius' private archives and most of the correspondence between these two important historical figures is now published for the first time.

AMRY VANDENBOSCH, *University of Kentucky*

**OPERATION OVERLORD, DESIGN AND REALITY: THE ALLIED INVASION OF WESTERN EUROPE.** By *Albert Norman*, Assistant Professor of History, Norwich University. (Harrisburg, Pa., Military Service Publishing Co., 1952, pp. xiv, 230, \$3.75.) This little volume is a serious and useful contribution to the military literature of the Allied invasion of northwest Europe. Dr. Norman was a historical officer at Headquarters, 12th U.S. Army Group, and used and cites that headquarters' files very freely. It is this use of original and important documentary material that gives the book its main value. At the same time, the author has an agreeable breadth of view. He has suffered some criticism in England for an allegedly overnationalistic approach. This is quite unjust; in fact, the book deserves applause for its impartiality and for its success in consistently representing Operation "Overlord" as what it was—a great international undertaking, shared by the United States, Britain, and Canada. Roughly three quarters of the volume is taken up with the planning and preliminaries of the invasion, many aspects of these being treated in great and valuable detail. By contrast, the account of the actual operations is disproportionately and disappointingly brief; the effect is anticlimactic. Like some other books, this one describes the fighting without giving any real picture of the day-to-day influence which the senior Allied commanders exerted upon it. The account of the enemy side is often defective. The bibliography is compendious, but British periodical material—of which there has been a great wealth since the war—is mainly conspicuous by its absence. (Some British books have also been missed.) Churchill's *Closing the Ring* and Harrison's *Cross-Channel Attack* were not available when the book was written, and it would seem that Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe* did not appear in time to be fully utilized. *Operation Overlord* contains a very considerable number of errors of detail.

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## Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton<sup>1</sup>

THE OLD EGYPTIAN MEDICAL PAPYRI. By Chauncey D. Leake, Vice-President, University of Texas, Medical Branch, Galveston. [Logan Clendening Lectures on the History and Philosophy of Medicine, Second Series.] (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1952, pp. 108, \$2.00.) Although not written for the Egyptologist or professional medical historian, this book will be of interest for both laymen and specialists in the field. The layman will receive a clear, short outline of the character and content of the Egyptian medical papyri; the specialist will be stimulated by the subsequent discussion centering around the Hearst Papyrus. This papyrus, which is in the posses-

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

sion of the University of California, in 1930 became the object of intensive study by Professors Larkey, Leake, and Lutz. The publication by this group of the translated and annotated papyrus is still to be awaited, but the present book gives a welcome preview of some of their results, including the author's own contributions. The Hearst Papyrus, composed about 1500 B.C., consists mainly of prescriptions for various ailments. Its analysis requires clarification of the diseases and symptoms for which the drugs were used, identification of the latter, and an interpretation of the occurring weights and measures. The various problems of diseases and drugs are discussed in some detail and the results conveniently summarized in an appendix. As to weights and measures, the author's comments are of particular interest, for instance, his suggestion that the "ro" really equals a tablespoonful, which in turn would explain why this measure commonly occurred as a unit for the measurement of drugs. The "References" offer a good selection of the literature on the subject; and the external appearance of the book is pleasing.

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## Medieval History

ALFONSO X OF CASTILE, PATRON OF LITERATURE AND LEARNING. Being the Norman Maccoll Lectures delivered in the University of Cambridge in Lent Term 1949. By *Evelyn S. Procter*, Principal of St. Hugh's College, Oxford. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. vi, 149, \$3.00.) Small in size, Dr. Procter's study is large in scope and stirs up many more ideas than its subject indicates. Partly, it looks at Alfonso's aid to literature and learning as one illustration of the royal patron who stimulated and protected scholars and poets. In part, it examines a number of cases to see the extent to which Alfonso acted not only as the financial patron of his clients but also as a critic and "a man of wide learning and a poet who could aid in their work and appreciate what they did." To some extent, it serves as a handy compendium of works produced under his patronage. It attempts no categorical answer to speculation about what Alfonso personally wrote, but it does suggest (pp. 119-20) how his influence was exerted and it gives a clear picture of his intellectual household, with its "heterogeneous and cosmopolitan crowd of men—laymen and ecclesiastics, scholars and legists, poets and musicians, artists and scribes; Jews and Christians; Spaniards and Italians. . . ." Dr. Procter's analysis of the *Estoria de España* is a sound piece of reasoning based on acquaintance with sources. Menéndez Pidal, who published the *Estoria* in 1906 as *Primera crónica general*, contended that it was not begun until after 1270. Dr. Procter finds it "more probable that the work was begun early in Alfonso X's reign and that the whole of the first rescension was completed before his death, leaving only the final revision of the chronicle from the Moslem conquest to be completed at the court of Sancho IV" (p. 111). Dr. Procter then sets the *Estoria* against the background of the few other works available in the Spanish historiography of the time and shows it to be "for the last fifteen years of Fernando III's reign . . . our sole narrative source apart from minor annals." Indeed, the analysis indicates that it "has some of the value of a primary source for the years 1232-1252." If this seems overbold to some historians who are wary of historical works that draw largely on epic poems (even allowing for the "historical" character of some of the early Spanish epics), Dr. Procter's argument is full and persuasive. Alfonso's role in the preparation of *Las siete partidas* and of that odd work, the *Setenario*, is well stated, and the discussion of the theory of the crown and of Alfonso's view of the state is good. Perhaps to some readers the value of the study lies in its attention to other matters than the law, for the stereotype of Alfonso as only a legist and political figure is a distortion.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT, *Vanderbilt University*

[The list of medieval articles is omitted for reasons beyond our control. It will appear in the July issue.—Ed.]

## Modern European History

### THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

*Leland H. Carlson*<sup>1</sup>

THE ELIZABETHAN WOMAN. By *Carroll Camden*. (Houston, Elsevier Press, 1952, pp. 333, \$4.50.) The title of this book is misleading since the material which the author has used ranges in date from about 1500 (a manuscript ballad in the Folger

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.



Shakespeare Library) to the 1650's. Professor Camden's study does not necessitate any substantial alteration in our present understanding of the legal, economic, social, and cultural position of women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is in fact not a study of the position of women in the period but rather of attitudes, opinions, and prejudices about women as expressed in prose and poetry, frivolous and serious. More than two hundred books and pamphlets are cited, continental European as well as English, to reveal contemporary opinion, mainly male, on such subjects as the physical, mental, and emotional nature of women, the education of girls, the choice of a wife (who will be "more than a friend, lesse then trouble: an equall with him in the yoke"), the marriage contract and marriage customs, the duties of husband and wife, pastimes and amusements, clothing and cosmetics. Inevitably, there is some repetition since the material which Professor Camden has used does not always fall neatly into the categories with which his chapters deal. In the concluding chapter are presented certain literary controversies about women, such as John Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet* and John Aylmer's reply. Perhaps Professor Camden tends to assume a greater difference than actually existed in the status and repute of women in his period as compared with the medieval period. His study reveals nevertheless how extensive was the literature on the subject in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and how wide and deep is his own acquaintance with it. Both the amateur and the professional student of history will find his book interesting and entertaining. Its value is increased by the inclusion of more than fifty carefully selected illustrations. The typography and format are a credit to both author and publisher. From Professor Camden's study we learn, with interest if not surprise, that men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, too, happily cherished the illusion that woman is a mystery. The more things change, the more they remain the same.

CATHERINE STRATEMAN SIMS, *Agnes Scott College*

SIR WALTER RALEIGH. By *Sir Philip Magnus*. (London, Falcon Educational Books; New York, British Book Centre, 1952, pp. 126, \$2.00.)

SIR WALTER RALEIGH. By *Hugh Ross Williamson*. (London, Faber and Faber; New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. 215, \$2.50.) These two brief books represent attempts at popularization of familiar knowledge on two different levels. The first is one of an "educational books" series, but it is difficult to discover what sort of person it is meant to educate. The author is apparently addressing an adult audience to judge by the tone of his writing, but he offers little either in the way of fact or of interpretation to challenge an adult mind. And what he writes is not always so. It is not quite fair to the Spanish, for instance, to say that Virginia Dare was "the first European baby to be born on American soil." Raleigh is presented as "an extraordinary flower of Elizabethan individualism," combining "in one brilliant and attractive person the main motives of an age of expanding horizons and universal change." The main facts are retold with commendable lack of partisanship, but neither Raleigh nor his age ever really comes to life. Williamson's book is more successful. Addressed to the author's god-son, it is aimed at the younger reader as well as the older. It is a well-written account, less critical of some of the Raleigh legends than Magnus' book, but based on a wider knowledge of the sources and considerably more vivid in detail. Williamson is more partisan; he admires Raleigh, dislikes Essex, and despises Cecil and James. He warns his god-son that Gardiner "tried to whitewash King James I and Spedding found a hero in Francis Bacon. When you understand the period, you will understand that nothing more need be said." He gives good accounts of the Guiana expeditions and (unlike Magnus) notices points which are still in bitter dispute among scholars. His account of the trial is spiced up by comparing Cecil's

system with modern totalitarian government, but it is quite true to say that "the purpose of such trials was what we should now call propaganda." All in all, Williamson (a prolific popularizer) has written a lively and well-informed biography which can be safely commended to younger students. It should perhaps be added that neither of these books comes up to the level of David Quinn's *Raleigh and the British Empire*, another recent popular treatment in the "Teach Yourself History" series.

E. HARRIS HARBISON, *Princeton University*

**BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.** By *Cecil Roth*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1952, pp. viii, 178, \$3.75.) This is a brief but spirited account of Disraeli's life from one point of view—his Jewish inheritance. Disraeli was inordinately fond of his forebears but really knew little about them. Our author, on the other hand, is familiar with all eight of Disraeli's great-grandparents and proves that on his maternal side they had lived in England for at least five generations. The imagination, however, of Disraeli made up for his want of knowledge. "Fancy," he observed, "calling a fellow an adventurer when his ancestors probably were on equal terms with the Queen of Sheba." Disraeli's novels are minutely scrutinized for every inkling of the great man's attitude toward Jewish ideals and aspirations. Nor is it simply the good novels, *Coningsby* and *Sybil*, that are so treated. Those quite inferior romances, *Tancred* and *Alroy*, are quoted at length to demonstrate, perhaps more than the facts warrant, that Disraeli really believed the racial nonsense he delighted to praise. The Prime Minister's devotion to the Church of England is explained by stating that he regarded Christianity as the logical outgrowth of Judaism. So likewise his interest in social reform is accredited to the social justice clauses of the Mosaic code. Our author dismisses as preposterous the accusation that Disraeli's Jewish blood had anything to do with his pro-Turkish policy in the Balkans. Yet at the same time he argues that that same blood gave the statesman a clearer understanding of the Near Eastern Question and materially aided him at the Congress of Berlin. Disraeli's intimate friends were not simply blue-blooded British aristocrats. Mrs. Brydges Williams, for instance, who left her property to Disraeli and was buried beside him was herself a Jewess. Then, of course, there was Alfred de Rothschild, who presented Disraeli with a suite of rooms which Beaconsfield used as his London headquarters during the last two years of his life, and the still more famous Baron Lionel de Rothschild. The latter made possible the purchase of the khedive's shares in the Suez Canal Company, which highlights our hero's career. The control of the Canal, we are informed, set in motion a series of events which led to "the reassertion after 2,000 years of an independent Jewish state in ancestral soil." Mr. Roth, like Benjamin Disraeli, has a vivid imagination. That is one reason why his book is so readable.

WALTER P. HALL, *Princeton University*

**BRITISH PAMPHLETEERS. Volume II, FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE NINETEEN-THIRTIES.** Edited by *Reginald Reynolds*. With an Introduction by *A. J. P. Taylor*. (London, Allan Wingate; New York, British Book Centre, 1951, pp. 302, \$4.50.) This is a collection of twenty-one British pamphlets written in the period between the coming of the French Revolution and the outbreak of World War II. Among the pamphleteers represented are some of the leading British publicists of modern times: Burke, Brougham, Sydney Smith, Kingsley, Carlyle, and Morris. Included, too, are some who are rarely remembered today except by specialists. Unfortunately, Reginald Reynolds has not made clear the criteria he used in determining which pamphleteers to reprint and which to reject. Cobden and Gladstone, for example, do not appear in the volume; yet few nineteenth-century pamphleteers out-

stripped them in importance and influence. Basically, the weakness of this anthology is that it is far too brief. In a mere three hundred pages it is impossible to do justice to the richness of the pamphlet literature of modern Britain. Probably Mr. Reynolds was told by his publisher that he must limit the size of his book or else he would simply price it out of the market, and doubtless he concluded that even this very brief sampling was better than none at all. There remains, however, the need for the systematic republication of the more important pamphlet literature of modern Britain. One other objection to Mr. Reynolds' volume must be raised: his introductions, though sometimes penetrating and usually written with vigor, often fail to place the pamphleteers in their historical context. They contain too much about Mr. Reynolds' prejudices and too little about the prejudices of his pamphleteers. On the other hand, the general introduction by A. J. P. Taylor is a joy to read. It is filled with the wit, the insights, and the suggestive exaggerations that his readers have come to expect of him.

HERMAN AUSUBEL, *Columbia University*

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## FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop<sup>1</sup>

JEAN-SYLVAIN BAILLY, REVOLUTIONARY MAYOR OF PARIS. By *Gene A. Brucker*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXXI, No. 3.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1950, pp. vii, 134, cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.00.) This was a master's thesis at the University of Illinois, and one deserving of publication. It rests upon a careful examination of the printed sources pertinent to the subject. While it gives a full life sketch of Bailly, it is properly a monograph devoted almost exclusively to his political and economic activities while mayor of Paris, 1789-1791. In a long series of episodes, the author gives an excellent picture of Paris while Bailly was in office, with discussion of the impression that he made on his contemporaries, especially the journalists. He describes Bailly's unbounded popularity at the outset and reveals how he lost much of it in 1790 and 1791 as he attempted to steer a middle course favored by the bourgeoisie. He considers Bailly a "failure," a mediocrity catapulted by favor, first into the royal academies, later into the mayoralty, undeserving of this extraordinary popularity, extravagant, and unable to maintain law and order. Bailly's forced resignation and his execution in 1793 resulted. This reviewer wishes that the author had discussed, or discussed more, such questions as Bailly's academic elections, his extravagance, the responsibility for the breakdown of law and order (whether Bailly's or that of the National Assembly), and whether anyone as mayor could have pleased all factions. Answers to these questions affect our estimate of Bailly. Despite inadequate discussion at points, however, it is a book that will render useful service in giving a succinct account in English of an interesting phase of the Revolution.

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CLEMENCEAU, THINKER AND WRITER. By *Samuel I. Applebaum*. (New York, the Author, 1948, pp. xiv, 184, \$3.00.) England and France have had many statesmen who were also philosophers and/or men of letters: in England, Burke, Sheridan,

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

Canning, Macaulay, Bulwer-Lytton, Disraeli, Balfour, Haldane, John Buchan; in France, Chateaubriand, Guizot, Lamartine, Hugo, Jules Simon, Jaurès, Maurras, Barthou, Herriot, Blum. As a thinker, Clemenceau remained loyal to the creed of the Ideologists, and to the materialistic positivism of his generation. He could claim that he "advanced," but without swerving from his original path. *Au soir de la pensée* is a noble confession of faith, but hardly a contribution to philosophy. As a man of letters, he was a masterly polemicist, on the platform and in the press, and a ruthless critic of bourgeois society: Jaurès, Zola, and Anatole France were never so biting as this orthodox and passionate individualist. His writings fill many volumes—six or seven on the Dreyfus Case alone. Four at any rate might rank as belles-lettres: a novel, *Les plus forts*, heavily sociological, with an eloquence reminiscent of Victor Hugo (not at his best); a disenchanted play, *Le voile du bonheur*; a biography (with a *pro domo* undertone), *Démosthène*; a sensitive art interpretation: *Claude Monet: Les Nymphéas*. Dr. Applebaum's study, full and competent, is deliberately inconclusive. We do not know what Clemenceau would have been, if he had not entered politics. As it is, his contribution to French literature is negligible. But he would not have been the same great journalist and orator if he had not thought of himself as a writer and as a thinker. These neglected aspects are more important, in his complex and engaging personality, than the lurid oddities that won him his nickname, the Tiger. It would be difficult to understand France under the Third Republic without Clemenceau. It is possible to differ with some of Dr. Applebaum's political statements. It is excessive to say, for instance, that the Commune broke out because "the Parisian populace would not tolerate without a struggle the cession of Alsace-Lorraine" (p. 29). And Paul Déroulède's *Ligue des Patriotes* was antiparliamentarian rather than anti-democratic: in France, at any rate, there is a difference (p. 31). But the work contributes to our knowledge of a vivid and important figure.

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B. H. Wabeke

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## NORTHERN EUROPE

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GUSTAV III OCH TRYCKFRIHETEN, 1774-1787. By Stig Boberg. (Stockholm, Natur och Kultur, 1951, pp. xxi, 351, kr. 15.) "At the accession of Gustav III [1771] Sweden held a first-rank position among the states of Europe in the freedom of the printed word, through the press freedom law of 1766. By the end of the 1780's the king had changed this position of leadership to a place far back in a long queue" (p. 233). In the process of telling this story Dr. Boberg throws light on the charm-king's shrewdness, unscrupulous tactics, and flair for propaganda. He has discovered a working draft of the press "freedom" law of 1774 which shows the king's basic purposes as quite different from those he announced to his subjects and his philosopher friends in France. The successive restrictions of 1774, 1780, and 1785 were largely the work of the king himself. He was so sensitive to public opinion that he labored unremittingly to prevent its expression, at the same time labeling the limitations as enlargements of freedom granted by a gracious and enlightened monarch. Reality was better represented by the treatment of J. G. Halldin, author of two critical articles. Here Gustav III resorted to legal procedure, which he usually avoided. He had Halldin condemned to death, though he won the verdict only by a pledge to pardon the victim. He got his stern precedent, then granted a complete pardon and a life pension; a few years later Halldin appeared as a royal apologist! By secrecy, bribery, and threats, often used in contravention of his own laws, Gustav III stifled oppositional papers. But he could not quell the rising discontent, especially against the royal distilling monopoly. In 1786 three of the four houses of the Riksdag (all except the clergy) boldly published their own proceedings, containing attacks far more severe than the individual criticisms suppressed for over a decade. In the meantime worldliness and indifference, rather than tolerance, gradually eased the censorship of the Stockholm consistory. Both research and writing on this piece of historical revision are good, and the six-page résumé in French will give the essence to readers who do not know Swedish. The attempt of the twenty-page introduction to provide a broader base for the question of freedom of the press is less satisfying: only one English book is mentioned; with regard to America Gustav III was much more aware than the author of its impact on ideology and government in eighteenth-century Europe.

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## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner<sup>1</sup>

## THE REBEL PRINCE: MEMOIRS OF PRINCE LOUIS FERDINAND OF PRUSSIA.

Introduction by *Louis P. Lochner*. (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1952, pp. xii, 356, \$3.95.)

This book is recommended to anyone with a penchant for soap opera with a royal touch. It is the story of a Hohenzollern prince who, denied his family heritage by the revolution of 1918, became a playboy, a doctor of philosophy, a penthouse "proletarian" who had an affair with a Hollywood actress, and the holder of an air transport pilot's license. "Prince Louis Ferdinand will be remembered by many Americans as the grandson of the last German Emperor who, in the 1930's, worked as a mechanic on the Ford assembly line. He is now the head of the Hohenzollern dynasty; were Germany still a monarchy, he would be its Emperor." Such accurate evaluations of the significance of their subjects are not always found on the dust covers of memoirs. Louis Ferdinand is a man who *might have been* historically important; his book is largely an encyclopedia of superficial comments about people he has met in Europe (he recalls his first at the age of three), Latin America, and the United States. One is torn between admiration and incredulity at his seeming memory of conversations, quoted by the page, three decades after the event (e.g., pp. 91-93), and one would like to know if Louis Ferdinand was really so vehemently opposed to Nazism before 1945 as when he wrote his book. In short, though these memoirs contain much personal drama and colorful detail about prominent figures, they must be rated low in historical significance. (The reviewer has not been able to compare this book with the recently announced German publication, H. Wahl, *Prinz Louis Ferdinand von Preussen: Ein Bild seines Lebens in Briefen, Tagebuchblättern und zeitgenössischen Zeugnissen* [Dachau, n.d.].)

JOHN L. SNELL, *Silver Spring, Maryland*VERRÄTER ODER PATRIOTEN: DER 20. JULI UND DAS RECHT AUF WIDERSTAND. By *Karl Strölin*. (Stuttgart, Friedrich Vorwerk Verlag, 1952,<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

pp. 47.) While both within Germany and abroad the subject of resistance to the National Socialist regime has received much attention, this concise treatment by Karl Strölin, the former mayor of Stuttgart, is unique. It appeared immediately after the close of the federal libel prosecution of Otto Ernst Remer in March, 1952. Strölin had appeared as a witness at the trial and was also well aware of the intensity with which the proceedings had been followed throughout the country. The ultimate question was whether the German resistance group which attempted to assassinate Hitler and overthrow the German government in 1944 consisted of patriots or traitors. The Brunswick trial produced the first extensive public discussion of the question in Germany since the war and provided the incentive for Strölin's book. The book holds unreservedly that the men of July 20 were patriots. The arguments from the opposite side which it opposes may be summarized as follows: (a) in face of unconditional surrender the only patriotic choice was to support the war effort, (b) the attempt of July 20 was made before the war was lost, (c) the men of July 20 had been sabotaging the war effort from an early date, (d) no new government could have spared Germany the extreme consequences of unconditional surrender. The author, in addition to presenting the thesis that Germany had lost the war from the firing of the first shot, supports his attack on all arguments by stressing the mistakes of the National Socialist government in the conduct of the war, and by emphasizing the reputation for maturity and judgment of those who favored resistance. The book closes with a conciliatory tribute to the Germans who fought on under Hitler after July 20, and with an appeal for national unity in facing problems of peace and reconstruction. It is not likely, in spite of Strölin's appeal, that the volume of literature and divergence of views on this question will diminish during the next few years.

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*Gaudens Megaro*

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## RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

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## Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer

THE SUDAN QUESTION: THE DISPUTE OVER THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM, 1884-1951. By *Mekki Abbas*. [Colonial and Comparative Studies.] (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1952, pp. xix, 201, \$4.25.) This is a timely volume done by a Moslem Arab of Northern Sudan. Educated at Gordon College (Khartoum) he broke off a teaching and public service career to go to Oxford on a Rhodes fellowship and write this book. Its usefulness as a history of the condominium and of the issues of the present day owes much, it is to be suspected, to the supervision of Professor Margery Perham of Nuffield College. But that is not to deny the author credit for a helpful volume in which his nationalist ardor comes out chiefly in the last chapters and in the appendix where the division between North and South Sudan is minimized. The chapter on the "Control and Allocation of Nile Waters" brings the reader face to face with the biggest issue between Egypt and the Sudan. The steps announced, looking toward a plebiscite for the Sudanese on their own fate, must give the author deep satisfaction.

G.S.F.

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## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

KUOMINTANG AND CHINESE COMMUNIST ELITES. By Robert C. North, with the collaboration of Ithiel de Sola Pool. Introduction by John K. Fairbank. [Hoover Institute Studies, Series B: Elite Studies, No. 8.] (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. ix, 130, \$1.75.) This valuable little brochure is one of a series of studies on elites sponsored by the Hoover Institute. It is essentially a statistical analysis of data obtainable about the background of members of the central executive committee of the Kuomintang and the Politburo and central committee of the Chinese Communist party. The data is not complete on many individuals and this weakens to a considerable extent the value of many of the statistical comparisons. It is particularly surprising to find the data on Nationalist personnel during the 1930's and 1940's less complete than that for the Communists, although, of course, there were far more individuals involved. Successive sections give useful historical accounts of the collapse of the Manchu regime and of the development of leadership within the Nationalist and Communist parties from 1920 to 1950, but the heart of the study is section four, "Social Characteristics of Chinese Party Elites." The elites are similar

in that they were drawn from the "upper layer of the Chinese population," usually came from parts of China most affected by Western influence, all of them had higher education, and most of them had studied abroad, and were in consequence "alienated intellectuals" who did not fit into the traditional "currents of Chinese society." The Communist leaders, however, were drawn more from rural areas and interior central China, and a larger percentage had studied abroad, especially in Russia and France. These differences tended to become more pronounced as the years advanced, the Communists maintaining a better contact with the rural areas as the Kuomintang "lost its popular touch." The work is well worth careful study. E.H.P.

THE AMERICAN RECORD IN THE FAR EAST, 1945-1951. By *Kenneth Scott Latourette*, Sterling Professor of Missions and Oriental History and Fellow of Berkeley College in Yale University. [Issued under the auspices of the American Institute of Pacific Relations.] (New York, Macmillan, 1952, pp. 208, \$3.00.) Professor Latourette's little book is aimed at the average American reader and is a noteworthy effort to present without emotion a clear picture and evaluation of American policy in the Far East since 1945. One hopes that his standing and known objectivity will carry weight with those who can see nothing but blunders or malicious sell-outs of American interest in the Far East since 1945. To those who claim that the State Department had no consistent or comprehensive policy he points out quite clearly that there was a basic unity and consistency in American policy, but that its logical application in the Far East sometimes had to give way to weightier European considerations. Latourette sees mistakes in policy and errors in judgment in applying policy, but he sees no malicious or deliberate betrayal of American interest. He quite properly, in the mind of this reviewer, holds the view that it was probably impossible for the United States to have avoided the Communist take-over in China, without having become involved in even more serious difficulties than we are now in, because this take-over was conditioned by too many factors over which we had no control. He does not bring out clearly enough, one feels, the responsibility Japan's war in China must bear for fastening Communism on China. The book also reviews our record in India, Southeast Asia, the Philippines, Korea, and in Japan, where to date it has been quite successful. On the whole one feels that Latourette has been successful in his efforts, and that most of his evaluations and judgments will stand the test of time quite well. E.H.P.

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## United States History

Wood Gray<sup>1</sup>

### GENERAL

AMERICAN BEGINNINGS: HIGHLIGHTS AND SIDELIGHTS OF THE BIRTH OF THE NEW WORLD. By *Jarvis M. Morse*. With an Introduction by *Luther Evans*, Librarian of Congress. (Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1952, pp. ix, 260, \$3.75.) Although its title hardly does justice to the nature of this book, or indicates its scope, the author has written a series of related essays on American historiography of the colonial period, or, to put it in his own words, he has "undertaken to lead interested readers on a personally conducted tour of noteworthy writings on British-America published before 1775." From his classification of the works included as narratives or descriptions of discovery and settlement, controversial literature on wars, insurrections, or politico-religious troubles, more or less formal provincial histories, and large scale or "imperial" histories, it is evident that he has ranged far beyond historiography in the narrower sense, and rightly so. Eight of the eleven chapters deal almost exclusively with the period before 1700, thus providing more complete coverage for the earlier years, "when fewer books had been written. For the later period, attention has been centered on works of outstanding merit," such as Adair, Oldmixon, Douglass, Stith, Acrelius, William Smith of New York, and Hutchinson. Except for this narrowing in his point of view on the eighteenth century, Mr. Morse has maintained good balance in his treatment of the hundreds of works in review which represent a selection from the larger number he examined. Each chapter is well integrated and the book as a whole has much of this same quality, in spite of the diversity of

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for lists of articles and documents, except where otherwise indicated.

material. His descriptive and critical comments stem from his reading, not skimming, of the literature, coupled with a knowledge of the colonial period. Excerpts of varying length are quoted "to convey some slight flavor of the original books," one of the main purposes of Mr. Morse's study, with the hope that more scholars will read the sources for their own benefit. He has exercised commendable restraint in employing quotation and equally sound judgment in devoting several pages to each of the more important writers and their works, with thumbnail biographical sketches. Historians will be especially interested in his generalizations and comparative evaluations of the pioneer group of imperialists and the provincial chroniclers. No one is likely to take issue with him in placing Thomas Hutchinson at the head of the list of British colonial historians. Mr. Morse has written a very useful book. Let us hope, as he does, that it will serve to lure students to the original narratives.

LESTER J. CAPPON, *Institute of Early American History and Culture*

THE AMERICAN DIARIES OF RICHARD COBDEN. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by *Elizabeth Hoon Cawley*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. xii, 233, \$4.00.) Richard Cobden's American visit of 1859 permitted him to check his impressions of 1835, but either his first observations were correct or his prejudices remained the same. He found Americans full of energy, boastful, impatient of criticism, and prodigal with tobacco juice. He described them as basically truthful, courteous, intelligent in conversation, good at oratory, and generous toward women and children—overly lenient, he felt. Cobden approved American democracy but deplored slavery and was unhappy at the difficulty of obtaining personal servants. The Cobden of 1835 was much interested in industrial conditions, being himself a manufacturer. He was impressed by the high wages and good living conditions. He found women textile workers clean, cheerful, and attractive—superior to most of their English contemporaries. As a young man he was observant of all women. His first New York reaction was that they were well dressed but thin, pale, and unhealthy-looking—"deficient in bust & bustle" (p. 89). Others looked better, but even Boston girls were "still deficient in *preface & postscript*" (p. 119). By the time of his second trip Cobden was famous and hence was entertained by many prominent Americans; unfortunately he characterizes only a few, as when he calls Buchanan depressed and unhappy looking. He admired American education, being particularly impressed with the use of coeducation and the widespread employment of women teachers. His greatest interest was the Illinois Central Railroad, since his stockholdings had inspired the trip. He judged the railroad well run and was optimistic about the future. In fact he was so favorably impressed that he wrote: "If I were a young man I would sever myself from the old world & plant myself in the western region of the United States" (p. 188). The introduction and editing of the volume are quite satisfactory, while the Princeton University Press has done its usual good typographical job.

ROBERT E. RIEGEL, *Dartmouth College*

LINCOLN IN MARBLE AND BRONZE. By *F. Lauriston Bullard*. [Publication of the Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois.] (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1952, pp. xiii, 353, \$7.50.) The publication of this book has a pathetic interest. Its author, long recognized as one of the leading Lincolneans of the country, completed it during the long and painful illness that preceded his recent death. As a Lincolnean Lauriston Bullard always insisted upon applying the strictest canons of historical evidence to everything he wrote in regard to Abraham Lincoln. That quality is one of the marked features of this book. Its value is further increased by the author's personal interest in the men whose work he has described and ap-

praised. Opening with a short and discriminating discussion upon Lincoln as a sculptor's problem, the remainder of the book consists of sixty-eight brief essays, each dealing with a statue erected in honor of Lincoln. In these essays the author has brought together much information about the sculptors and their works, some account of the circumstances that led to the erection of the monuments, and usually a report about the unveiling ceremonies. In a few instances he has given accounts of the controversies that developed over the artistic merits of the statues. In general the author has been rather sparing in the expression of his personal opinion about the merits of the productions he has described. His preferences and his dislikes are, however, not difficult to detect. To the reviewer they appear in the main as sound and sensible but with a tendency to err upon the side of leniency. The value of the book is much enhanced by the illustrations. Admirable full-page photographs of each of the sixty-eight statues are included. By examining each of them in connection with the essay to which it is related readers of the book can readily grasp the ideas of the artists, their sponsors, and the author.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON, *Dartmouth College*

**JAMES A. GARFIELD: HIS RELIGION AND EDUCATION. A STUDY IN THE RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT AND ACTIVITY OF AN AMERICAN STATESMAN.** By *W. W. Wasson*. (Nashville, Tennessee Book Co., 1952, pp. xi, 155, \$2.50.) This account of James A. Garfield's own education and religious faith and of his continuing interest in the problems of education and religion as he grew older has significance to the social historian because it forms a sort of case study of the part played by evangelical religion in the period from 1830 to 1880. Since Garfield was born in the Midwest and had part of his education in New England, since he was a soldier in the Civil War years and a member of both state and national legislatures thereafter, his career touches upon wide areas of American life in the nineteenth century. As a follower of Alexander Campbell and a member of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) from early boyhood, Garfield was not hampered by rigid theological dogma, and his views changed and broadened as he matured. In his later years he made the adjustments in his ideas on both education and religious belief that seemed necessary to him because of his increasing awareness of the changes in scientific and social thought. Throughout his life he kept the optimism, belief in progress, enthusiasm for education as the answer for most of America's problems, and the deep religious convictions of his youth. This slender volume was written by a minister of the church of which Garfield was long a member, a man who is also a teacher and a student both of religious history and of American social and cultural history. The book is, therefore, not only a study of Garfield's views but also of the Christian Church and of the educational institutions it founded and the evolution of the beliefs and thought of that church from Alexander Campbell to the time of Garfield's death.

ALICE FELT TYLER, *University of Minnesota*

**THE CROSS AND THE CROWN: THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.** By *Norman Beasley*. (Boston, Little, Brown, in association with Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1952, pp. xi, 664, \$6.00.) This book does not meet the usual definitions of the historical profession as either a biography of Mary Baker Eddy or a history of the denomination which she founded. Rather, in spite of the fact that the book's jacket states that the author is not himself a member of the church, it properly belongs in the category of hagiography. As such it does not lend itself to the type of review customarily found in a scholarly journal. Mr. Beasley's previous publications have generally been admiring and uncritical histories of business leaders and industrial



enterprises. In the present undertaking he accepts, without any question as to possible rational explanations, claims of miraculous healing, and he unreservedly supports Mrs. Eddy against all her many opponents within and outside the church. Apparently he feels constrained to do something less than justice to other religious beliefs and to the medical profession. In short, there is nothing here for historians, with the possible exception of experts in the field who may find something of use in the documentary excerpts that are strung together to make up much of the bulk of the volume. The general reader will probably be turned away by an organization that resembles the chaos that preceded the first day of Genesis and a style, characteristic of the author, that favors one-sentence paragraphs and one-line sentences. Presumably the book was prepared to the taste of readers, and purchasers, within the membership of the church. Since the sales have touched the edges of the best-seller lists, the author and his publishers may feel themselves justified in the undertaking. W.G.

**LEADERS OF MEN.** By *Woodrow Wilson*. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by *T. H. Vail Motter*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. vii, 70, \$2.00.) This hitherto unpublished address, written by Woodrow Wilson in 1890 and delivered on numerous public occasions between then and 1898 throws an interesting light both upon Wilson's inner ambitions and upon the literary roots of his style and thought. The leader of men, Wilson wrote, was he who translated thought into action and won public acceptance for new and sound ideas through the arts of persuasion. It is obvious that Wilson wanted to be just such a leader and was wistfully restless at the apparent disqualifications for such a career which he believed were created by his academic connections. Wilson apparently derived many of his basic concepts for this lecture from Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* although his ideas about the principles which such a leader should espouse were modeled on Gladstonian liberalism rather than upon the authoritarian toriyism of Carlyle. Wilson's references and illustrations are indeed virtually all drawn from the century of British political history which began with Burke and concluded with Gladstone and Morley. Mr. Motter has done well to rescue this address from oblivion. It is worth reading for its own sake and it shows how Wilson long desired the call to national service which began to come to him in 1910 when he was elected governor of New Jersey and which culminated in his nomination for the presidency in 1912. Those who believe that intensity of desire exercises a strong influence upon events will find here a further corroboration of their faith. PAUL H. DOUGLAS, *Washington, D.C.*

**WOODROW WILSON OF PRINCETON.** By *McMillan Lewis*. (Naberth, Pa., Livingston Publishing Co., 1952, pp. xii, 118, \$2.50.) There is never an end of books about Woodrow Wilson: and why indeed should there be? This people's conscience is ever re-examining the record: what manner of man was this, whose plan of world organization, once rejected by us, reappears and with amendments will continue to reappear? The present book is a labor of love, a Princeton man re-examining the story of one whose ideal was "Princeton in the nation's service." The author is a Missouri school-master, a graduate of '26, who as a boy was taken by his father (Princeton, '90) to pay his respects at the White House in 1915. Mr. Lewis sent inquiries to some 4000 alumni, of the twenty-five years preceding that visit. On the basis of some 400 replies he draws a picture, not of the politician, not of the educational statesman, but of the college teacher. There is, it is true, a slight mention of the preceptorial system, that "shot in the arm for the academic community," and a perfunctory chapter on the clubs and the Graduate School, which gives no new information or insights. The main theme is the college professor, who was to many an alumnus, naturally, "the

finest teacher they ever encountered," who "sent them out of his classroom . . . with a sense of inspiration—almost of dedication—and into the world with a sense of values that has remained with them all their lives," an "intellectual giant." A past master of public speaking, especially extemporaneous: "I always converse with a thousand people as if I were endeavoring to persuade one man in the back row." He never suffered fools gladly, often found it hard to keep his temper. While governor he once told a New Jersey senator, "I'd give anything to be able to call my friends by their first names as you senators do." He had "an extraordinarily keen gaze," that "was disconcerting," but "fine eyes that could light up with kindness." His tragic flaw (as in the Graduate School controversy) was an "excess of self-confidence once he had taken his decision." He told a reporter that he "had great confidence in the inherent soundness of public opinion but . . . the true opinion of the country could not be discerned in Washington." One cannot resist a wistful speculation on what would have been the result of his postwar appeal to the nation against the Senate, if only there had been favorable conditions of his health, together with his habitual eloquence.

HENRY R. SPENCER, *Tulane University*

WOODROW WILSON'S OWN STORY. Selected and Edited by *Donald Day*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1952, pp. 371, \$5.00.) A compilation of excerpts from the writings, speeches, and letters of Woodrow Wilson, this volume purports to be a sort of autobiography—Wilson's own story. The editor, Mr. Donald Day, has performed a similar service for Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the publishers promise many more volumes in the series. As Mr. Day is obviously not a scholar and has slight regard for what he calls "factual biographers" and "scientific historians," perhaps it would be ungracious to make a critical judgment of his book. None the less, the reviewer, who is one of those "factual biographers," offers the following admonition to the unwary: Mr. Day offers nothing new. He has excerpted *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson* and Baker's *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters* and printed a few letters and speeches that did not appear in these volumes. He has joined these excerpts by paragraphs of his own that reveal considerable ignorance of American history and Wilson's biography. Mr. Day's observations reflect, moreover, a gullible acceptance of all that Wilson ever said. Obviously, if Wilson said something, it must be true. It is not surprising that Mrs. Wilson fulsomely endorsed this volume and gave it official approval. Mr. Day's technique of letting his subject tell his own biography may appeal to the general reading public, but this reviewer thinks it is unsound and meretricious. In any event, *Woodrow Wilson's Own Story* combines the worst features of the apologetic memoir and the uncritical biography.

ARTHUR S. LINK, *Northwestern University*

DAVID I. WALSH, CITIZEN-PATRIOT. By *Dorothy G. Wayman*. (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1952, pp. viii, 366, \$5.00.) This biography of David I. Walsh (1872-1947)—first Irish Catholic to be elected governor of Massachusetts (1913) and first senator to be elected from the Commonwealth after the passage of the Seventeenth Amendment—combines the sentimental qualities of an evangelical memoir with the didacticism of an Horatio Alger story. While these two literary genres, so characteristic of the nineteenth century, do not meet the standards of first-rate contemporary biography, Mrs. Wayman has succeeded in telling a worshipful story of how the son of Irish immigrants became a power in the politics of his state, and, through his service in the Senate (1919-25; 1927-47), in the affairs of the nation. Walsh, who will probably be remembered longest for his role as chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs during World War II, emerges from this study, sometimes despite the author,

as a skillful politician who personified the arrival of new elements in Massachusetts politics; as a sincere humanitarian and old-line Democrat who was considerably more at ease during the days of Wilson than during those of F.D.R.; and as a congenital Anglophobe and isolationist with a passion for naval preparedness. (Mrs. Wayman prefers the term "constitutionalist" to "isolationist" and describes both Walsh and the first Henry Cabot Lodge as global thinkers.) Failing to deal successfully with a problem inherent in the biography of any minor figure—how to maintain a sound balance between his thoughts and actions and those of his contemporaries—Mrs. Wayman compounds her failure by attributing to her hero a great deal more than his share of recent history. Thus, Walsh appears in such unwarranted role as the man who laid the groundwork for the rise of the CIO (p. 214), the man who persuaded William Randolph Hearst to switch his support to F.D.R. at the 1932 Democratic Convention (pp. 202–203), and as the man who guaranteed the inclusion of bases in the 1940 destroyer-bases agreement with Great Britain (p. 285). One may understand the slip which caused the author to refer to Father Charles E. Coughlin as "Rev. Gerald M. Coughlin" (p. 292), but her references to Liberty Bonds during World War II (p. 320), to Russia's neutrality in 1940 despite the Russo-Finnish War (p. 284), and to "the extreme 'isolationist' policies of George Washington and the American patriots of A.D. 1776" (p. 295) betray, at best, a carelessness which inspires doubt as to the reliability of this study.

FREDERICK RUDOLPH, *Williams College*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

- OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION, 1620-1647. By William Bradford, Sometime Governor Thereof. A New Edition of the Complete Text, with Notes and an Introduction by Samuel Eliot Morison. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, pp. xliii, 448, xv, \$6.00.)

Teachers, students and general readers alike will welcome Samuel Eliot Morison's modern edition of the American classic *Of Plymouth Plantation* by William Bradford. This great story, never published in the author's day, describes first the beginnings of the Pilgrim Church in England, and then, in chronological fashion, the history of the Pilgrims from their removal to Holland and their settlement in New England to the year 1946. Professor Morison's modern edition of the story has retained Bradford's language word for word, thus keeping much of the flavor as well as the accuracy of the work. But by adopting modern usage the editor has made this ancient chronicle a book for the ordinary intelligent reader to enjoy. He has spelled out all contractions and abbreviations—a "ye" has become "the." And he has adopted modern usage in capitalization, punctuation, and spelling. These, no doubt, are the most formidable stumbling blocks for modern readers. The editor has, however, made the classic even more readable by placing in appendixes many of the long and tedious documents inserted in the text as proof by Bradford. He has also broken up the long chapters into short, readable sections by placing subheadings in brackets at suitable intervals—a process which smooths out the reading considerably for the nonspecialist. In addition the editor has prefaced the work itself with a most adequate introduction. In lively language, he describes the manuscript, the use made of it by writers until its loss about the time of the Revolution, and how and when it was discovered and recovered. Finally, he concludes the introduction by listing and briefly discussing the five main previous editions of the work. Although a few specialists may deplore Professor Morison's application of modern usage to this old and sacred document, most teachers will willingly sacrifice a "y" or "ym" "to introduce a very great book to a much wider public."

B. KATHERINE BROWN, *East Lansing, Michigan*

**MIRROR TO AMERICA: A HISTORY OF NEW LONDON, NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1900-1950.** By *James Duane Squires*. (Concord, N.H., Evans Printing Co., 1952, pp. xxiv, 549, \$7.50.) On any general map of the United States the area covered by this study would be little more than pin-point size, and the population, fallen to less than 800 during the last half of the nineteenth century and increasing moderately during the first half of the twentieth, could only be accorded a position of insignificance by purely quantitative standards. Yet the story of such a community when told by a trained historian, as is the case here, can be a significant contribution to the history of the United States. The history of the little town reflects much of what has happened to the New England region as a whole. General farming and industry (in New London woodworking shops and a scythe works) have declined or been closed out, while there has been a marked growth of several forms of specialized agriculture, and vacationists and students (of Colby Junior College) have been added to the numbers of permanent residents. Every significant aspect of community life is examined—government, public services, transportation and communication, economic institutions and trends, recreational offerings, and the population as individuals. There are detailed appendixes that include historic houses, commercial buildings, transfers of real estate, weather, and over 1,500 biographies of a "Who's Who" type. Excellent illustrations abound, including one portrait that suggests that Calvin Coolidge represented a recurring type of New England physiognomy. The volume begins where a previous town history, a good one of its type, left off. The author apparently received wholehearted support and co-operation that could well serve as a pattern for other localities considering a comparable undertaking. There are probably many historians who have at some time entertained daydreams of thus investigating their own communities; too few are likely to have the opportunity.

W.G.

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## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

ERSATZ IN THE CONFEDERACY. By *Mary Elizabeth Massey*, Associate Professor of History, Winthrop College. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1952, pp. xii, 233, \$5.00.) One of the most impressive characteristics of Confederates was their ability to improvise. Essentially an agricultural people, with meager capital and with coasts blockaded, they were able nevertheless to organize a government, raise and equip a large army, feed and clothe a population of nine million, support a substantial portion of their civilian institutions, and maintain their independence against tremendous odds for a period of four years. *Ersatz in the Confederacy* tells the story of adaptation on the Southern home front. After mending garments until the originals were lost in a conglomerate of stitches and patches, Southern women turned to spinning wheels and looms and made their own cloth. "Wool" was derived from such combinations as cotton and rabbit fur. Nettle was transformed into "beautiful linen-like cloth." Shoes were made by attaching canvas uppers to wooden soles and hats were fashioned from scraps of old dresses, wheat straw, pine needles, and even corn shucks. Some of the Rebel head-pieces were "outlandish" but others were said to be quite stunning. Dyes were an aggravating problem. But a passable solution was found by searching fields and forests for indigo, walnut hulls, pokeberries, oak bark, and sorghum seed and converting them into the desired hues. That all this was done in good humor is suggested by the Rebel riddle: Question: "Why am I like St. Paul?" Answer: "Because I dye daily." In general food was less of a problem than clothing, though some important items had to be replaced. Sorghum and honey were widely used substitutes for sugar but, even so, sweetening became so scarce that desserts almost disappeared from Confederate tables. Coffee, virtually unobtainable after 1861, was supplanted by vile beverages prepared from parched corn, sweet potatoes, rye, and other cereals. Much of the information gleaned by Miss Massey is already familiar, but she has rounded out an important story and enriched the detail. The research is thorough, the organization logical, and the presentation clear and interesting. Illustrations featuring various Confederate products, modeled in some instances by glamorous great-granddaughters of the Lost Cause, add to the book's attractiveness. The title, in my opinion, is not a happy choice.

BELL IRVIN WILEY, *Emory University*

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#### WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

A CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTION OF WESTERN AMERICANA FOUNDED BY WILLIAM ROBERTSON COE, YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. Compiled by *Mary C. Withington*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1952, pp. x, 398, \$10.00.) Mr. Coe selected the Yale University Library as the repository for his pre-eminent collection of books and manuscripts on western America scarcely ten years ago, and he has been unremittingly adding to it ever since. The Coe Collection is now the greatest assemblage of printed rarities in existence in its field. Merged with previous acquisitions, it is housed and catalogued separately as the Collection of Western Americana in the Yale Library, and the rapidity with which the material has been made available is most gratifying. The library will generously grant privileges to scholars, without undue restrictions. The present catalogue is a fine example of bibliographic technique and will serve admirably as a fully indexed reference to a large part of the manuscript section of the collection. Other libraries should be encouraged to go and do likewise, for manuscript materials tend to become neglected, as they are difficult to catalogue and index. Miss Withington has provided 542 main alphabetical entries, many of which include hundreds of letters, papers, and unsegregated individual items. These entries include manuscript diaries, journals, reports, notes, letters, proof sheets, maps, paintings, drawings, and photographs. The fields of the Pacific Northwest and Mormon history are richly represented, along with overland narratives, missionary and fur-trade items, western military history, Indian affairs, and Californiana. Some of the entries are: 14 boxes and bundles of W. H. Brewer papers, 16 volumes of J. G. Bruff journals, 216 Catlin drawings, 416 letters and papers of General S. R. Curtis on the Mexican and Civil wars, the General Custer family papers, the Howard Egan journals, the Emmons journals of the Wilkes Expedition, Elwood Evans notes with the Pacific Railroad Survey, 9 volumes of A. J. Faulk papers on Dakota Territory, 1866-69, 19 volumes of records of forts in Oregon and Washington, John W. Geary's official papers on Kansas 1855-57, Thomas L. Kane's Mormon papers, 54 maps of Lewis and Clark, 37 Alfred J. Miller paintings, Orville C. Pratt's diary by way of the Spanish Trail in 1848, the W. F. Raynold's Yellowstone reports, the Silas Reed correspondence, 10 water colors by Samuel Seymour, Governor I. I. Stevens' correspondence, 14 volumes of Granville and James Stuart journals and diaries, the famous Robert Stuart Astorian

narratives, the Elkanah Walker manuscripts, and the Marcus Whitman correspondence. There is an exhaustive index, and many of its entries will not readily meet the eye in the text. The text entries are newly numbered and the old numbers from the Eberstadt typed catalogues are also indicated, in terminal brackets.

C. L. CAMP, *University of California, Berkeley*

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK: SOLDIER IN THE WEST. By *Walter Havighurst*. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1952, pp. vii, 216, \$3.00.) A well-known stylist here presents a brief, imaginative account of the career of the Revolutionary hero of the Ohio Valley in a narrative clothed in happy phrases, beautiful sentences, and the right words to express his ideas. Greater emphasis, however, upon accuracy both in small details and large generalizations would have enhanced the value of the work for historical purposes. Few will agree that without the campaign of Clark the Ohio River would have marked the northern boundary of the United States (p. vi), or that Clark gave "the new nation half the territory it possessed" (p. 174). Similarly, Vincennes was not "the territorial capital of the Northwest" (p. 194), and Cahokia was not "built around the old French stronghold of Fort Chartres" (p. 112). If the author had read carefully Clark's "Memoir," which he mentions, he would have learned that Clark's army contained 170 men, not 130 (p. 151). Hamilton's "Journal," available in several libraries even before it was published in October, 1951, would have given more accurate totals of Hamilton's forces, which Havighurst gives in one place as 525 (p. 128) and 700 in another (p. 130). He states (p. 149) that Fort Sackville had five blockhouses, but Hamilton—who built them—said it had only two. Other errors could be listed, but sufficient have been cited to indicate that his statements must be verified before they can be accepted.

JOHN D. BARNHART, *Indiana University*

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# Latin-American History

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## GENERAL

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, HISTORIAN: AN ESSAY IN SPANISH HISTORIOGRAPHY. By *Lewis Hanke*, University of Texas. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1952, pp. xiii, 125, \$3.75.) The several papers and books which Hanke has written upon the theme of the legal-theological disputes over the New World Indian are here focused, in a slender volume, upon one of the most controversial personalities in Latin-American history. Las Casas, however, left little record of his early years or his personal formation, so that this large essay is not so much biographical as it is intellectual, contributing chiefly to the history of ideas in America. As such, a great deal has already been written and published, by Hanke as well as others. This study now examines that facet of Las Casas as a historian, not as a humanitarian, Christian reformer. Even here there is debate; but it is the author's clear conclusion that Las Casas was a serious, respectable historian. On this premise Hanke gives us an account of the Las Casas manuscript, the *History of the Indies*, its composition, sources, editions, and influences upon Spanish historiography. For the Latin Americanist most of the critical statements and conclusions are well known, having appeared very recently in Spanish language journals and books; this English language edition fulfills another need and will reach a different reader. A well-written essay, it enjoys the advantage of scholarship, experience in archives and research, and a labor of love toward the unlovable, violent Bartolomé de las Casas.

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## NATIONAL PERIOD

## NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARRIBBEAN

THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1903-1950. By *Lawrence O. Ealy*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951, pp. xi, 207, \$4.00.) Although interest in the Republic of Panama has usually been centered upon its strategic military importance, there is ample reason, as this author has capably demonstrated, for consideration of that nation in fields other than those of military concern. This work is primarily an attempt to trace the role of Panama in the spirit of international co-operation in the twentieth century. It is an interesting and useful study in a limited area of the foreign relations of Panama, but it contributes considerably toward filling some gaps in the historiography of that important Latin-American state. The author gives a limited discussion to the economic background of Panama and tells in some detail the story of its becoming an independent nation. He then treats the activities of the republic in the "Inter-American System," in World War I and World War II, in the League of Nations and in the United Nations. Throughout the book runs a thread of the animosity of the Panamanians toward and of their dependence on the United States. He finds with justification that the "record of Panama in international cooperation has, on the whole, been a favorable and heartening story." He concludes that the citizens of that little republic regard the United Nations as the "best great hope of mankind." The author has done thorough research in Panama and in the United States. The format of the book is excellent and it is well printed. Although some scholars may object, the footnotes are placed at the end of each chapter—a practice which will likely delight the general reader. The index is adequate. Although it is a moot question as to whether to index footnotes, this reviewer would have appreciated the author's going to that extra trouble.

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## The Washington Meeting, 1952

The American Historical Association held its sixty-seventh annual meeting on December 28, 29, and 30, 1952, in Washington. Registrations at headquarters in the Mayflower Hotel numbered 1,381. Except for a luncheon of the American Society of Church History at the Hotel Burlington and a tea of the Conference on British Studies at the Folger Shakespeare Library all the sessions were held at the Mayflower.

The experienced and efficient hand of Dean Elmer Louis Kayser of George Washington University guided the Committee on Local Arrangements consisting of Robert O. Mead, Hurst R. Anderson, Harry C. Byrd, Luther H. Evans, Wayne C. Grover, The Very Reverend Hunter Guthrie, S.J., Mordecai Johnson, Cloyd H. Marvin, The Most Reverend Patrick J. McCormick, and Alexander Wetmore. The debt owed by the Association to Dean Kayser for his services in arranging meetings in Washington has been measurably increased. No one could ask for better hosts than Dean Kayser and his colleagues.

It is, perhaps, appropriate in this winter of 1952 that the chairman of the Committee on Program should be a devout believer in *laissez faire*. Except for the necessary organizing and scheduling he did little or nothing. A few sessions were arranged at his request by amiable and able friends who served on the committee. But most of the program came from members of the Association who had ideas and were willing to undertake the task of carrying them to fruition. The men who arranged the individual sessions deserve any praise that may be due for the success of the meeting. No central idea lay behind the program except the suggestion of the chairman that an attempt be made to explore new realms rather than to summarize work already adequately done.

It is, unfortunately, impossible in the space available to list everyone who contributed to the program by arranging sessions. Those who accepted the responsibility of membership on the Committee on Program were Wallace K. Ferguson of New York University, Paul W. Gates of Cornell University, George F. Howe of Washington, D.C., Raymond P. Stearns of the University of Illinois, and William B. Willcox of the University of Michigan.

## II

Ancient historians and medievalists who were inclined to feel that these fields had been neglected for several years came forward energetically with ideas for sessions and were heard with sympathy by a not unprejudiced program chairman.

The ancient historians held a session on "Problems in Ancient History" presided over by A.E.R. Boak of the University of Michigan. H. Michel, late of

McMaster University, pointed out the importance of economic factors for the proper understanding of ancient political and cultural history. For example, the sources of public revenue and the effects of economic changes had much to do with the rise and fall of ancient states. He then indicated that the impact of capital, particularly of new sources of wealth upon political policy and social conditions was an important subject for further investigation. As additional research tasks demanding attention he mentioned the economic decay of the Minoan-Mycenaean culture and the economic aspects of the Peloponnesian War. A. A. Schiller of Columbia University supplied his audience with mimeographed bibliographies of recent outstanding works on ancient law and centered his discussion on three of these books. By this means he presented a summary and critique of the most recent work in this field. Friedrich Solmsen of Cornell University discussed the relation of philosophy to economics and law. He made a very thoughtful analysis of ancient ideas from the Greek "pre-Socratics" to St. Augustine. Among many other points he brought out the relatively greater importance for early Greek science of the pre-Hippocratics over the pre-Socratics, Plato's relation to Athenian political thought, his connection with the physical and medical sciences, the need for a new religious interpretation of Stoicism and Epicureanism, and the use of Greek logic by the early Christian apologists. Mason Hammond of Harvard University stressed the importance of work on the political institutions of the less well-known city-states. He also suggested as subjects for exploration the position of the Greek cities in politics of the Hellenistic world, the relations of Rome to the Italian peoples, and the psychological basis of power in the Roman Empire in the light of modern knowledge of mass psychology.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the History of Science Society was presided over by Donald Fleming of Brown University. Its subject was "New Views on Greek and Medieval Science." Owsei Temkin of the Johns Hopkins University read a paper entitled "Greek Medicine as Science and Craft" and Marshall Clagett of the University of Wisconsin spoke on "The Exact Sciences in the Middle Ages: Recent Research and Current Problems."

The Mediaeval Academy of America held a dinner meeting presided over by its president, William E. Lunt of Haverford College. The address was delivered by Edgar N. Johnson of the University of Nebraska. The following is a brief summary written by him: If American medievalists are not in the future to find themselves in the same position as American classicists today, they will have to take steps to make the medieval period more vital to the average citizen than it is at the moment. This could be done by acting upon Professor Huizinga's definition of history (history is the intellectual form in which a generation renders account to itself of its past), and attempting to rewrite medieval history with a view to its contribution to a solution of the major problems of this generation. If today our chief problem is to perfect international machinery for the maintenance of peace and settle the present East and West conflict in order that the

fatal brutalities of a World War III may be avoided, it needs to be considered whether some medieval historians do not need to rewrite the history of medieval war, medieval international institutions (empire and church), and the medieval conflict between East and West with a view to their contemporary pertinence. If our present world is failing to hand down to all who can absorb it an appreciation of the ideas and humanistic values that go to make up our Western tradition, and is thus contributing to the growth of that ignorance in our midst which is promoting the loss of our freedom, then American medievalists must make sure that the contributions of the medieval period to this tradition are not lost sight of. They must consider anew the major conflict between humanism and asceticism with its medieval compromise: Christian humanism. They must deal frankly with the conflict within the Christian tradition itself of theocratic, authoritarian, and democratic implications. They must make available for the general student the wealth of material on the liberation of serfs, of artisans and unskilled workmen, and of the bourgeoisie that helped to break up the rigidity of early medieval social organization. The vital essentials of the history of medieval law must be made available in usable form to the general student. It must be the same for the whole precious history of constitutionalism in both theory and practice.

In other words, general works on these vital chapters in the formation of the tradition of the West must be given to the American public in a form they can absorb. They must be well written for a wide, popular, even newsstand, audience with all the adaptation however difficult or uncomfortable such an audience will require. They must be adapted also for radio, screen, television, as well as for the press. Inasmuch as the survival of the West depends in part upon the correction in the rest of the world of still prevailing medieval institutions and points of view, the knowledge of the medievalist has thus a direct bearing upon the present attempt of America to help lead the West.

Lynn White, Jr., of Mills College, presided over a session entitled "New Light on a Dark Age: A Symposium of Western Civilization in the Tenth Century." Helen Cam of Harvard University pointed out that the constitutional pattern of the later medieval states was firmly established in the tenth century. This was particularly true in England where the Anglo-Saxon kings created the bases on which the Anglo-Norman monarchy was to rest and develop. Robert S. Lopez of Yale University emphasized the growth of population in the tenth century, especially in the towns. This was combined with extensive development in both trade and industry. Towns were bursting out of their ancient walls and miners were producing the metals needed for coinage. Harriet Lattin discussed Gerbert as an astronomer. She showed his appreciation of the importance of instruments, models, and charts in the study of this subject and his ingenuity in making and using them for both teaching and observation. Loren C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina pointed out that the tenth century was an active period in the study of medicine. At least fifteen major medical handbooks were pro-



duced in the century and classical writers on medicine were eagerly studied. Luitpold Wallach of Cornell University discussed the extant literary works from the eleventh century and emphasized their originality and vigor. John D. Forbes of Wabash College showed slides of "Cluny in the Tenth Century" prepared by Kenneth Conant of Harvard University. The first church at Cluny was dedicated in 926 or 927 and replaced by a larger structure in 981. Although this church was planned for a wooden roof, it was vaulted by the year 1000. In summarizing the session Lynn White pointed out that the speakers had not attempted to account for the phenomena they discussed. He suggested that the growth in population was the result of a transition from the two-field to the three-field system of crop rotation. He added that this probably led to an increase in the growing of legumes. By supplying vegetable proteins to make available a more balanced diet, this may well have increased the fertility of the population. He also pointed out that the tenth century was one of technological advances, particularly in the field of music.

Another session on medieval history dealt with "Law, Polity, and Economy of the Later Middle Ages." It was presided over by Gaines Post of the University of Wisconsin. Brian Tierney of the Catholic University of America emphasized the importance of studying the canon lawyers of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries because of the light they can throw on "medieval constitutionalism" (sovereignty, *status ecclesiae* and *status regni*, and on *communitas* of church and kingdom) and on representation. Using the *consilia* or opinions given to courts by canonists and legists in the later Middle Ages, Benjamin N. Nelson of the University of Minnesota showed how the Roman law on contracts influenced the theory of usury (the borrower takes more of a risk than the lender), and how the spirit of capitalism based on loans was always condemned and was slowed down by the ideas of the canonists. The paper was in effect a justification in part of Max Weber. Stephen Kuttner of the Catholic University of America, discussing both papers, stressed the practical importance of the ideas of the canonists, because they were frequently consulted by princes and their courts; hence their opinions are useful for students of constitutional history. In the spirited, general discussion that followed it was stated that medieval capitalism arose, in any case, not from usurious loans but from investments in property and trading enterprises; and a desire to make the legal sources more available to scholars was universally expressed.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association was devoted to "The Churches of Eastern Europe." The chairman was Nicholas S. Timasheff of Fordham University. Milton Anastos of Dumbarton Oaks and Cyril Toumanoff of Georgetown University read papers entitled respectively "Church and State during the Iconoclastic Controversy" and "Moscow the Third Rome: The Genesis and Significance of a Politico-Religious Idea."

## III

The enthusiasm of the specialists in early modern history for presenting ideas for the program was fully as great as that of the medievalists. Six sessions were devoted to this field.

A joint session of the American Historical Association and the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions discussed the "Theory of Public Law, the Royal Prerogative, and Representation in the Later Middle Ages." Helen Cam of Harvard University presided. Gaines Post of the University of Wisconsin, while emphasizing that theory follows the event, suggested that the terminology of official documents had not been adequately examined for clues to the influence of jurists, especially canonists, upon the formulation of secular political theory. Problems that might profitably be thus approached were the emergence of the distinction between private and public law, the application of the canonist doctrines of renunciation and alienation to the coronation oath, and the interpretation of Richard II's alleged claim to have the Laws "*in pectore suo*." Among problems connected with representation that called for investigation he cited the actual techniques of voting, the effective meaning of "counsel and consent," the question of proportional representation, and the payment of representatives' expenses.

The second paper, by Margaret Judson of Rutgers University, was devoted to "Some Questions concerning Representative Assemblies in the Evolving Territorial States of the 16th and 17th Centuries." Miss Judson stressed the importance of the co-operation of kings and representative institutions as a major aspect of state-building in this age, and then suggested several obstacles which prevented such co-operation in many areas: limited mandates of deputies and other manifestations of provincialism, inadequate legislative procedures, and the innate conservatism of assemblies in the face of new problems. Only in Sweden and England, she suggested, do we find outstanding examples of co-operation between rulers and strong representative assemblies overcoming such obstacles and working in the common interest. Extensive comment on the two papers was offered by Caroline Robbins of Bryn Mawr College, who examined especially the procedural problems in the growth of the states of this period and recalled Neville's economic explanation of the differing evolution of England and France. Comment from the floor included the following: Professor Kantorowicz stressed that in the Middle Ages many key political conceptions preceded the corresponding political facts by many centuries. Professor Heymann suggested that a study of the growth of territorial states in eastern Europe, especially Bohemia and Poland, would shed further light on the problem. Professor Rowen pointed out the importance of limited mandates in the history of the Netherlands. Professor Greenlaw recalled the Esmein thesis which explains the divergent developments in England and France on the basis of early strong monarchy in England and weak monarchy in France. Miss Raynor underlined the importance of the dis-

inction between officers of the household and of the realm in the medieval period, and Miss Cam closed the session with a summary of the main points of the discussion.

One of the least exploited fields of Renaissance activity is that of music, and Wallace K. Ferguson arranged a session on this subject and presided over it. Edward Lowinsky of Queens College, currently a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, read a paper on "The Place of Music in the Culture of the Renaissance." After demonstrating the improved social position and increasing importance of the professional musician, as well as the spread of amateur musicianship among the middle and upper classes, during the Renaissance, Professor Lowinsky turned to an examination of the texts used by musicians and to the methods of composition, both of which he related to other contemporary cultural phenomena and both of which he argued were sufficiently revolutionary to justify regarding the Renaissance as a distinct historical period. The discussion was led by Frederick B. Artz of Oberlin College, who furnished the meeting with a selected list of recordings of Renaissance music and commented on their value.

The luncheon meeting of the Conference on Latin-American Studies heard an address by Engel Sluiter of the University of California at Berkeley on "The Rise of the Netherlands and the Decline of Spain." Professor Sluiter pointed out that it was the Dutch far more than the English who broke the power of Spain. While the naval losses inflicted by English seamen and the storms which aided them so efficiently were serious blows, the long, wearing struggle with the Netherlands finally used up Spain's resources.

Lowell J. Ragatz of Ohio State University presided over a session devoted to the "Seventeenth Century." Francis J. Bowman of the University of Southern California read a paper entitled "The Baltic Policy of the Western Maritime Powers, 1639-1660." He demonstrated that the constant element in the vagaries of French, English, and Dutch policy of the era is to be found in the Amsterdam burgher class which played a leading role in repeated crises and, in the treaties of Oliva and Copenhagen (1660), elevated the Seven Provinces to the pinnacle of their power.

Paul B. Hardacre of Vanderbilt University spoke on the "Royalists in Exile during the Puritan Revolution." He presented a comprehensive view of the Royalist refugees' activities in European countries and overseas, their material and cultural contributions to the life of the day, and the influence of enforced residence abroad in shaping their subsequent careers. The leavening consequences of their experiences abroad have not heretofore been fully recognized by historians.

Finally Godfrey Davies of the Huntington Library presented a paper on "The Restoration Reconsidered." Dr. Davies found the answer to the question of why the Restoration was carried through with bloodless dispatch in the army's acquiescence—not only did the officers fail to present a united front because of strife between commanders and subordinates but the rank and file of Lambert's

army were unwilling to fight Monck's men. Fraternization between civilians and the soldiery who had long been estranged removed the last serious obstacle to the return of the Stuarts and this was accomplished with puzzling ease.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Society for Reformation Research, presided over by Ernest G. Schwiebert, heard two papers on Martin Luther. The paper of Gerhard Ritter of the University of Freiburg, "Luthertum, Humanismus, und Katholisches Weltbild" was read by Dr. Forell of Gustavus Adolphus College. Professor Ritter sketched in a moving fashion the role of Catholic culture of the Middle Ages as the bulwark against dangerous threats from the East; the further trial of the church during the tragic days of the Hitler regime which furthered the Luther Renaissance in German Lutheranism; and the deepening of the faith of Lutherans today in their return to the spirit of the Reformation with its trust in God's divine governance and mercy. In Luther they now see a man, not so much representing Renaissance and Humanistic culture, but rather a willingness to find the answer to life's mysteries at the foot of the Cross in the revelation of God's own Son, the depth of which reveals both the seriousness of sin and the unfathomable mystery of God who still rules the universe, even though in recent times the kingdom of the devil seemed occasionally to triumph. The hopeful note in Professor Ritter's paper was the renewed emphasis of Lutheranism in Germany today on an active participation in political and social problems so that the church may become a vital force in daily living.

S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado discussed the theme of how Luther reacted to John Hus and how he was received by the Bohemian Hussites. The paper was a unique, searching investigation of Czech and German sources revealing early contacts with Hus and his followers and the gradual change in attitude which resulted as Luther matured as the German reformer. The paper did not imply that Luther grew as a reformer as a result of Czech influence, but rather that, as he matured through mastery of Biblical teachings, he found his teachings coming ever closer to those of John Hus. Professor Thomson traced with great skill and much original documentation how Luther in 1505 revealed "the usual Saxon's horror of Hussite heresy and an ingrained dislike of all things Czech." Remarks by superiors that Hus had been unjustly condemned at Constance disturbed Luther deeply. First evidence of contact between Luther and the Unity of Czech Brethren was traced as far back as 1512, even though Luther did not carefully distinguish between the Brethren and the Hussite Utraquists. Evidence of influence of the Brethren on Luther was pointed out prior to the *Ninety-five Theses* in 1517. After that, his opponents did not fail to stress the similarities. The paper pointed out how John Eck and, later, Aleander used the connection between Luther and Hus with telling effect. Where first Luther objected bitterly to being called a Hussite, later he began to realize that he agreed with Hus on many points. He even admitted he had been a Hussite all his life without knowing it.

Professor Thomson stressed that Luther after 1520 carefully distinguished between the Utraquists and the Unity, and became more cordial toward the former, as the latter group was less interested in foreign connections. Although an unfortunate experience with a Utraquist delayed Luther's relations with the Bohemian reform groups, in the thirties (1532) he became very friendly and undertook to publish their *Confessio* giving his blessing to them as a separate evangelical group. Luther's own mellowing as he developed as a reformer and the persistent patience of the Czechs brought understanding with honor to both. The seeds of the Czech-German reconciliation so auspiciously sown then had the misfortune to be crushed by the grim international complications of the Counter-Reformation and Habsburg imperial ambitions.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the Conference on British Studies was presided over by Harold Hulme of New York University. Charles H. George, of Colorado College, in his paper "A Social Interpretation of English Puritanism," pointed out that English Puritanism in the period before the Revolution differed little from Anglicanism. "The early Puritans," he said, "were simply those people in the Church of England who wanted to institute further reforms in the national church worship." After 1640, however, a new Puritan temper became the guiding spirit of the middle-class revolution. Employing quotations from the writings of Richard Baxter, Professor George showed how that divine "tied his religious precepts to the virtues of the bourgeoisie as a class." The Revolution, he contended, was fought by that hard-working class against an idle aristocracy and the lazy poor. The doctrines of predestination and the calling were transformed into instruments of middle-class morale by a group of Puritan preachers; and there appeared a tendency to equate divine election and earthly success.

In the discussion period Winthrop S. Hudson of Colgate-Rochester Divinity School said that, unlike Professor George, he could discover no change in Baxter's theories after 1640 but that he found a consistent condemnation of contemporary mores in his writings before and after that date. Wilbur K. Jordan, of Radcliffe College, Harvard University, suggested that Professor George had confused the Puritans and the Presbyterians; he noticed that most of the examples cited by Professor George as Puritan doctrines employed in the revolutionary years in support of middle-class, capitalistic interests were really Calvinist doctrines of long standing; and he further pointed out that the Presbyterian body was not constant in its support of the Revolution. He disagreed with Professor George's interpretation of the Civil War as a class conflict. Richard Schlatter, of Rutgers University, agreed with Professor George that Baxter was the spokesman of a particular economic group; he granted that the Puritan movement had its economic aspect. He found, however, Professor George's economic determinism too simple, holding that systems of ideas have an influence which must be taken into account in any interpretation of history.

## IV

During the autumn months and throughout the meeting itself the chairman of the Committee on Program was informed, usually gently, that modern European history had been singularly neglected. Only when he came to organize this summary did he realize how justified the criticism was. Despite his personal inclination to classify the study of the period after 1850 as current events rather than history, he is, in fact, resigned to the tendencies of his day and the neglect was unintentional. No one made fruitful suggestions early enough. For some reason the modern historians waited until August to send in their ideas. While for purposes of balance this summary will treat studies in imperialism as modern history, there was but one regular session on modern European history.

At the luncheon meeting of the Modern European History Section presided over by Sidney B. Fay of Harvard University, William L. Langer of Harvard University delivered a paper entitled "The Historian and the Present."

Geroid T. Robinson of Columbia University presided over a session entitled "Unheeded Advisers to the Tsars." C. Bickford O'Brien, of the University of California at Davis, read a paper on "Pososhkov's Design for Economic Reform under Peter the Great," in which he summarized the views expressed in the writings of this self-educated thinker regarding the development of manufactures and trade and the reform of taxation in Russia. O'Brien suggested that Pososhkov's ideas were inspired more by a desire to raise the standard of living of the Russian people than by mercantilist doctrines, whereas Peter's reforms were motivated by the aim of promoting the military and economic strength of the Russian state. To this fundamental difference in outlook O'Brien attributed the unwillingness of Peter and his officials to heed the advice of Pososhkov, and the eventual imprisonment of the latter.

Charles Morley of Ohio State University, in his discussion of "Czartoryski's Attempts at a New Foreign Policy under Alexander I," placed emphasis on Czartoryski's authorship of the *Instruction* furnished Novosiltsev for his negotiations with England in 1804, and described the system of international relations which this document envisaged under a new code of the law of nations on the basis of an Anglo-Russian alliance. Mr. Morley suggested that an important motive in Czartoryski's sponsorship of this program was his desire to promote the reconstruction of an independent Poland under Russian auspices, and that war with Prussia in 1805 was considered to be essential to the success of these plans. Czartoryski's resignation as foreign minister was therefore inevitable when Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz shattered the third coalition and Alexander I turned to a policy of rapprochement with Prussia. Mr. Morley pointed out that although Czartoryski's advice thus went unheeded in 1805, his influence contributed to the creation of Congress Poland in 1815 and his aspirations for a new law of nations were realized in the twentieth century.

Leonid I. Strakhovsky of the University of Toronto, in his paper on "Count



Paul Ignatiev's *Efforts to Save the Monarchy of Nicholas II*," presented materials from the unpublished Memoirs of the Minister of Public Instruction relating to his attempts after his appointment in January, 1915, to overcome the barriers erected by bureaucracy between the emperor and the Russian people. In pursuit of this aim Count Ignatiev joined with a majority of the cabinet in September, 1915, in advising the emperor against assuming supreme command of the armed forces, and co-operated with the progressive bloc in the Duma in an effort to preserve the constitutional limitations on the monarch which had been set forth in the manifesto of October, 1905. Mr. Strakhovsky expressed the belief that Nicholas II retained Count Ignatiev in office despite his repeated attempts to resign because he admired his frankness, and when the emperor dismissed his minister in January, 1917, it was a sign that he had finally given in to his reactionary advisers.

In commenting on Mr. O'Brien's paper, C. E. Black of Princeton University called attention to the varying interpretations given to Pososhkov's mercantilism in the work of Brückner, Pokrovsky, Lyashchenko, Kafengaus, and Syromyatnikov. Marc Szeftel of Cornell University sought an explanation of Pososhkov's attitude in the fact that Peter had taken certain important measures for the development of the merchant class in the cities but had then undermined this effort by imposing heavy taxes. As regards the paper on Czartoryski, Mr. Szeftel queried whether Alexander's policy of a rapprochement with Prussia had not been the result of Speranski's influence. To this Mr. Morley replied that he had found no evidence of Speranski's influence before 1806 and suggested that this decision of Alexander was based on considerations of power politics. Robert J. Kerner of the University of California stressed the importance of Ignatiev's unpublished Memoirs in contributing to an understanding of the fall of the Russian Empire, and called attention to the disastrous results of Nicholas II's stubborn adherence to the principle of autocracy. F. S. Rodkey of the University of Illinois expressed the view that the efforts of Count Ignatiev to temper the emperor's autocratic methods were rather belated, since Nicholas II had retreated as early as June, 1907, from the concessions made in October, 1905. Geroid T. Robinson cited evidence of the influence of the personal limitations of Nicholas II on his conduct of public affairs.

The joint meeting of the American Historical Association and the Economic History Association entitled "A Re-Evaluation of Imperialism" was presided over by Harold U. Faulkner of Smith College. The session began with a paper by W. K. Hancock of the University of London with the title "Agenda for the Study of British Imperial Economy, 1850-1950." After drawing a picture of Great Britain's commercial position in the era of "classic imperialism," Professor Hancock devoted most of his paper to the numerous problems facing the student in a study of economic expansion, particularly in undeveloped countries, whether the political sovereignty rested inside the area or without. He particularly noted that an economic study of this type called for the use of many sciences but might

well center on various aspects of land, capital, and labor. His paper frequently noted the work of various students in this field, their theories, and the extent of their failures or successes. Mr. Paul Sweezy's paper, "A Marxist View of Imperialism," was an interpretation of imperialism along the classic lines of Hobson, Marx, and Lenin. Using the United States as an example, he insisted that, except for the Soviet Union, the old pattern of imperialism with its various unfortunate results still continued. It was expected that the Sweezy paper would be answered by Louis Hacker, of Columbia University, but illness prevented his attendance. However, active participation from the floor led by Messrs. Perkins, Clough, Hidy, Brebner, Hallgarten, and others ended the session on a lively note.

Professor Holden Furber of the University of Pennsylvania presided over a session on "Modern India and the Impact of the West." George Bearce's interest in Sir Thomas Munro sprang from his study of British attitudes toward India in the first half of the nineteenth century. In presenting Munro as a pioneer of liberalism, he showed that Munro's policies in Madras, 1820-27, on which Munro's reputation is primarily based, grew out of a real solicitude for the welfare of the peoples of southern India. These policies naturally commended themselves to liberal thinkers in England, such as the Mills. Munro's own policies, such as opposition to the introduction of English conceptions of landlordism in South India, were usually determined by the needs of the moment as he saw them, rather than by any carefully planned long-range program of liberalism. In religious policy Munro was more cautious and tried to hold missionary enthusiasm in check. Educational policy, he believed, should be based more on an Indian than a European foundation, at least until the people had acquired greater confidence in the good intentions of their rulers. A free press, he regarded as out of the question. It was his economic policies that best reflected the influence of early nineteenth-century liberalism.

Just as Dr. Bearce's study showed how much later policy owed to Munro, Dr. Cutts's treatment of the background of Macaulay's famous minute on education brought out its close connection with the thinking of the evangelicals with whom Macaulay's family was so intimate. In particular, Dr. Cutts gave a vivid account of how Charles Grant's writings promoted the use of English to cure the "evils of Hinduism," and how the work of the Church Missionary and other similar societies fostered the view that English instruction would make India into an "English-speaking English-loving country." Dr. Cutts's paper (to be published in the July issue of the *AHR*) contributed to a better understanding of the struggle between Anglicists and Orientalists over educational policy.

Dr. Naidis' paper, which was read in his absence by Dr. McCulloch, gave a thorough analysis of the O'Dwyer *vs.* Nair lawsuit tried in 1924 five years after the tragedy at Amritsar. In this action, Sir Michael O'Dwyer sought to vindicate his actions as lieutenant governor of the Punjab in 1919. Though he won the suit, all the bitterness engendered by the tragedy was revived and increased. Dr. Naidis' account revealed very clearly why responsible Indian opinion regarded

the trial as a travesty of justice, tending, as the London *Nation* said, "to establish the truth of Gandhi's repeated assertion that justice for India cannot be obtained from an alien government or law court."

Dr. McCulloch opened discussion with comment on all three papers, indicating how several of the points might have been brought out more cogently. Questions from the floor were concerned chiefly with British educational policy in India before 1850.

V

As is only proper in a meeting of the American Historical Association, twelve sessions, about 40 per cent of the total number, were devoted to the history of the American continents.

A general session on the morning of December 30 treated the subject, "What Is Historically American?" Solon J. Buck of the Library of Congress presided. The three papers were offered by three specialists who discussed the question from the points of view of a constitutionalist, a historian of social ideas, and a diplomatic historian. Merlo J. Pusey of the *Washington Post* emphasized the persistent validity of the separation of powers as a means of constitutional liberty. Ralph H. Gabriel of Yale University cited two central concepts of American life: an accepted social position based on achievement rather than status, and an independent basis for the church, apart from the state. Dexter Perkins of the University of Rochester called attention to the influence of publicity on the conduct of American foreign relations and to the nation's insistence that its international relations be based on moral principles instead of opportunism. From the floor, Francis Weisenberger of Ohio State University, Alfred Kelley of Wayne University, and Herbert Heaton of the University of Minnesota volunteered comment, and Carlton J. H. Hayes expressed general agreement in response to an invitation.

Frederick Merk of Harvard University presided at a session on "Protest Movements in the Era of Unrestrained Capitalism." Lee Benson of Columbia University read a paper on "New York Merchants and the Campaign to restrict Free Enterprise." It showed that New York City merchants were the leaders in the movement which produced the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, their activity being accounted for by the adverse effects of the trunk line rate wars on the "locational supremacy" of New York City.

Charles A. Barker of the Johns Hopkins University in a paper entitled "Followers of Henry George" described the contributions which five of Henry George's followers and associates made to his cause, the five being Dr. Edward Taylor of San Francisco, Francis Shaw, Father Edward McGlynn, and Thomas Shearman, all of New York, and Tom Johnson of Ohio. Barker attributed the urban and middle-class character of the Henry George movement largely to this inner group of followers. He showed that George himself was less a single-track thinker than is commonly supposed. Commentators on the paper were Broadus Mitchell of Rutgers University and Joseph Dorfman of Columbia Uni-

versity. Dorfman directed himself entirely to the Barker paper. The chairman questioned the adequacy of the evidence offered in the Benson paper for some of the generalizations in its introductory and concluding sections.

The subject of the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Studies Association was "The Little Renaissance of 1912-1915." Carl Bridenbaugh of the University of California at Berkeley presided. In his paper on history, John A. Hague of Yale University showed the effect of the Progressive Movement in stimulating and agitating cultural activity. Although he made a good case for the relation of the Progressives to the new developments in literature and the arts, he failed, as Professor Bridenbaugh pointed out, to indicate that by 1916 the leaders in art and literature had become more or less disillusioned with the superficiality of the Progressive program and had begun to slip into a pessimism about the country that was deepened and overlaid by the postwar disillusionment of the twenties.

John A. Waite of Michigan State College came nearer to belief in the existence of a renaissance than the others in his paper on literature. The phrase comes from the literary people. He traced the rise of the Chicago school of writers, and the transfer of the *Masses* to Greenwich Village and the emergence of the New York group. In Wilson's New Freedom he saw much of the inspiration of the writers who came around again to the position of Walt Whitman.

Milton Brown of Brooklyn College provided the most penetrating comment in his paper on art. He pointed out that renaissance was a poor term because in painting the introduction of the modern art of Europe and this country, as symbolized in the Armory Show at New York in 1913, was no rebirth but something entirely new.

The chairman suggested at the conclusion of the meeting that there had been demonstrated, not a rebirth but a flowering, a great ferment or upheaval in cultural values, and that the proper dating was from about 1910 to 1920. Here was a period rich with new implications for the student of American civilization—in virtually all fields.

Robert E. Riegel of Dartmouth College presided over the joint session of the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Fulmer Mood of the University of Texas presented a paper entitled "Settled Areas and Frontier Lines: The Cases of 1850 and 1860." Professor Mood described the work of Francis Amana Walker, which was an important source of information for Frederick Jackson Turner. Walker, as director of the census of 1870, was responsible for the first maps showing the distribution and density of population, including a frontier line. As a self-trained statistician, Walker was not interested in small details of settlement and in consequence gave authority to the "fallacy of the one frontier." This fallacy was particularly glaring in the census maps of 1850 and 1860, when numerous minor frontiers were overlooked. Walker's omissions are to be corrected soon in the publication of a series of maps which will include the smaller settled areas, and this concept of a multiplicity of

frontiers should have a freshening effect on the whole study of the frontier.

In commenting on the paper, Paul W. Gates of Cornell University questioned the value of the new set of maps, indicating that historians had long known about and described the settled areas not included within Walker's primary frontier line. He felt that the concept of a multiplicity of frontiers was well known to all western historians and that its more precise statement would furnish little help in future frontier work. Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University questioned the Mood thesis along three lines: (1) that the Walker maps did not distort the situation seriously; (2) that Turner and other frontier historians were not influenced adversely by the Walker maps but studied all areas of new settlement; (3) that the useful concept in study of the frontier is that of zones of sparse settlement rather than population density lines. George W. Pierson of Yale University felt that Professor Mood's work helped to dispel such illusions as that population stopped at census lines and that the frontier ended in 1890. He indicated other possible areas of work—on interior frontiers as well as on disconnected islands of settlement, on decreases as well as increases of settlement, on the advance of the frontier as related to transportation, on sex distribution as related to population density, on the development of maps showing various occupational and cultural frontiers rather than only gross population. Professor Pierson expressed the opinion that the maximum importance of the American frontier came somewhere in the years near 1830. Professor Mood ended the meeting with a plea for freedom from old stereotypes in collecting and evaluating evidence concerning the American frontier.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the National Council for the Social Studies presided over by Robert E. Keohane of the University of Chicago was devoted to "New Interpretations in American Biography." Robert Riegel of Dartmouth College and Eric F. Goldman of Princeton University read papers entitled "Changing Fashions in the Treatment of American Leaders." Thomas C. Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania spoke on "Captains of Industry."

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the Southern Historical Association under the chairmanship of Kathryn Abbey Hanna discussed "Instances of Non-Combatant Activities during 1861-1865." In "Holy Joes' of the Sixties: A Study of Civil War Chaplains," Bell I. Wiley of Emory University described the methods of recruitment, qualifications, pay, dress, status in the military hierarchy, and work of Union and Confederate chaplains. Generally speaking, the character of the chaplains was poor, although the Confederate chaplains appear to have been superior to the Union ones, and there was an improvement on both sides during the last two years of the war. Extensive quotations from soldier and officer correspondence were used by Professor Wiley to evaluate the work of the chaplains and to indicate the regard, both favorable and unfavorable, in which they were held by the respective armies.

"Northern Relief for Savannah during Sherman's Occupation" by John P.

Dyer of Tulane University dealt primarily with the activities of Colonel Julian Allen, a Polish-born resident of New York who had arrived in Savannah late in 1864. Going to New York and Boston as agent of Savannah to sell a large quantity of rice owned by the city, Colonel Allen instead asked for and received large contributions of food which were shipped to Savannah to feed the population. Various aspects of this little-known episode were described by Professor Dyer, including also some of the salient events of Colonel Allen's later career in New York and North Carolina.

The topic of the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Military Institute was "The Role of the Reserves in the Military Services and in American Life." Henry M. Dater of the Department of the Navy presided.

All speakers emphasized the fact that reserve programs are essentially a twentieth-century creation, established to provide the armed forces with a pool of trained men to be used when rapid expansion is required. Colonel Arthur Roth, representing the Army, indicated that, although the concept of the citizen soldier, had long been accepted, no effective policy to give personnel training or make large numbers readily available had been adopted prior to 1900. After that time legislation permitted the President to call out the National Guard in an emergency and provide for federal supervision over its training. Under Henry Stimson, the Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Taft, various proposals were made for a small regular army, supported by the National Guard and a reserve of volunteers. These proposals took concrete form in the National Defense Act of 1916.

Except during the Civil War, when a Volunteer Naval Service had been created for officers, the Navy had no citizen reserve of any kind until Massachusetts passed laws for the establishment of a naval militia in 1899. Several other states followed suit and the naval militia contributed to the expansion of the Navy in both the Spanish War and in World War I. After the latter conflict, legislation tended to decrease the importance of the militia and to emphasize the reserve. The speaker, Rear Admiral K. M. McManes, laid particular stress on the Naval Reserve Act of 1938, the most influential piece of legislation affecting the reserve components of any of the armed services prior to the Reserve Forces Act of 1952. Admiral I. M. McQuiston, vice chairman of the Reserve Forces Policy Board, outlined the efforts to improve the reserves and to obtain standardization and uniformity which resulted in the act of 1952. Major General R. S. Copsey of the Air Force and Colonel W. V. Stickney of the Marine Corps discussed the importance of the reserves in achieving rapid mobilization and both pointed to Korea as an example. All speakers agreed that, while immediately after a war sufficient reserves had been available from among demobilized veterans, no positive steps were taken during peacetime to provide adequate replacements. The situation arising out of the Korean episode had been met but it was neither fair nor possible to continue to rely upon the veterans of the last war.



Dr. J. K. Mahon in his comments pointed out that the reserve forces represent an attempt of the United States to prepare in advance for war and that such preparation was not required before the United States rose to the position of a great power in the twentieth century. He further emphasized the fact that, while the Militia Act of 1792 provided a far from satisfactory solution to the problem of military preparedness, it was all that could be obtained at the time and it did preserve the concept of the citizen soldier. With the shift in power from the states to the federal government at the time of Civil War the way was open for the organization of reserve forces under federal control when the need arose.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the Conference on Latin-American Studies was presided over by C. H. Haring of Harvard University. Rayford W. Logan of Howard University read a paper on "The United States Mission in Haiti, 1915-1952," in which he pointed out that despite the lack of adequate human and natural resources and the failure of the United States to provide funds and a sympathetic attitude, the occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934, laid the foundation for improvement in political stability, economic and educational development, and public health. This improvement was expanded during the period of limited and diminishing financial control, 1934-1937. Today, Professor Logan stressed, Haiti enjoys her greatest prosperity because of high prices paid for her exports, but even this prosperity fails to provide adequate necessities of life for the great majority of the people. Since Haiti is largely in the orbit of the United States, the United States has a continuing responsibility to develop a peacetime program that will assure an even higher standard of living in Haiti. The paper of Joseph O. Baylen, New Mexico Highlands University, read in his absence by Joseph Young, reviewed the problems involved in "American Intervention in Nicaragua, 1909-1933: An Appraisal of Objectives and Results." Stress was placed on the inadequateness of the United States program. Lack of understanding and preparedness of the State Department and its reluctance to permit the Nicaraguans to run their own affairs coupled with a detailed account of the evidence constituted the bulk of the paper.

Chairman Haring then called on Roscoe R. Hill who spoke of his eight-year experience in Nicaragua and who explained that all the difficulty did not lie with the United States; that he was against the withdrawal of the marines; and that the paper of Professor Baylen was too hard on the State Department. Dana G. Munro commented on his years in Haiti, noting that the Haitians feared the coming of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Presidency for he had once boasted that he had written the constitution of Haiti. Professor Munro concurred with Professor Logan's statement that Haiti had made much progress but had much to accomplish in the fields of education and public health. Roland D. Hussey and Arthur P. Whitaker voiced their views respecting the difficulty of making and implementing foreign policy based on their wartime experience in the State Department. Professor Hussey stated that the United States has learned that it does not know what to do respecting Latin-American policy and noted that Professor

Baylen ignored a consideration of social and economic factors. Professor Whitaker noted that a great change in policy has taken place and future changes must take into account the fact that the United States is a world power. Change in method is witnessed by the end of dollar diplomacy but the inception and growth of the Export-Import Bank must be coupled to the civilizing mission of the United States in Professor Whitaker's opinion. Ignacio Mendoza pleaded, in Spanish, for a recognition of cultural and intellectual factors in Inter-American relations, and for a realization that intervention was now world wide.

A session presided over by Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania discussed "The Problem of a General History of the Americas." In the basic paper Charles C. Griffin discussed the underlying assumptions, problems, and progress to date of the "History of America" project of the Pan American Commission on History, which provides for the study of the problem on the basis of international co-operation among private scholars but not for the writing of an official history. This was followed by three prepared comments. Richard H. Shryock pointed out that the question is not whether, but the extent to which, a unified history of the Americas is feasible. Carl Wittke, in a paper read in his absence by John Hall Stewart, urged as a preliminary step the preparation of sub-regional studies, using Canada and the United States as an example. Ralph Turner stressed the differences in method and procedure between this project and the UNESCO "Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind" project.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the Agricultural History Society was presided over by Edward N. Wentworth of Armour's Livestock Bureau. The topic of the meeting was "Land Tenure and Land Reform in the Modern Period." Lazar Volin of the United States Department of Agriculture traced land tenure and efforts to achieve land reform in Russia over the past one hundred years. Mr. Volin pointed out that the failure of Russia to achieve a measure of agrarian democracy in the last half of the nineteenth century made the attainment of political democracy less possible and remarked upon the futility of Communistic land policies in satisfying the needs and desires of the Russian peasantry. Leonard F. Cain of the Catholic University of America in his paper on Ireland stated that the fight for land in that country had been closely tied to the fight for independence. In tracing this struggle from early history up to the present time when Irish farmers are virtually all owners of the land they till, Mr. Cain concluded that land reform and land ownership were prerequisites to a more efficient agriculture. Merrill Rippey of Texas Christian University in his paper on land reform in Mexico pointed out that solving the problem of possession of the land has been the essence of the history of Mexico since 1810. Land reform got under way in 1915 and the laws on this subject worked slowly but with cumulative force until 1940. At the conclusion of the formal papers, Geroid T. Robinson of Columbia University, in a discussion of Mr. Volin's paper, remarked that a numerous class of small, independent farmers was the ideal of Mr. Volin as it had been of Thomas Jefferson. However, in the modern world,

the development of farmer co-operation in the purchase and use of large machines may be necessary to preserve the independence of the small owner.

At the luncheon conference of the Agricultural History Society Mr. Wentworth read a paper entitled "Observations on Constructive Agricultural Movements." He gave particular emphasis to the various developments that led to the production of better livestock.

The subject of the joint session of the American Historical Association and the Business Historical Society was "The History of Long-Term Debt Financing in the United States." Fritz Redlich of Harvard University presided. A. G. Bogue, State University of Iowa, read a paper on "The Administrative and Policy Problems of the J. B. Watkins Land Mortgage Company, 1873-1894." Between 1873 and 1894, Jabez B. Watkins developed a large mortgage agency at Lawrence, Kansas, which sold securities to the value of some \$19,000,000 in the eastern United States and Great Britain before failing in 1894. This paper was a description of the methods by which Watkins built up his lending field in the plains country of the United States and recruited a large clientele of investors, as well as an analysis of the reasons for incorporating the business and for its eventual failure.

T. R. Navin, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, discussed "Investment Banking since 1900: An Unexplored Field in American Financial History." After briefly touching on reasons why economists and historians have given so little attention to twentieth-century investment banking, Professor Navin urged that research in this field be undertaken while records are still existent and while certain key bankers are still alive. He suggested ten possible thesis topics which might be undertaken in printed materials. These research topics would serve as a grounding for further work either directly in business records or in the materials made available by the current antitrust suit against seventeen investment bankers, once these materials become fully available.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the Lexington Group was held under the presidency of Carleton W. Meyer of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway. Elspeth D. Rostow of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology read a paper on "Arthur T. Hadley" and Robert J. Agnew of the University of Pittsburgh spoke on "Albert Fink." William Miller of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., and Joseph T. Lambie of Wellesley College were commentators.

## VI

Two sessions dealt with education in history and the social sciences. The perennial question as to the type of history courses that should be taught in the schools and the proper training for teachers of history was the subject of a session entitled "History in the Schools." Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library presided.

Before an audience of 700, with the Voice of America recording the proceedings, Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., severely arraigned professional educators for failing to provide adequate training in basic skills. In a paper entitled "Anti-Intellectual-

ism in the Schools: A Challenge to Scholars" he accused the educators of so concentrating on meeting all the "common needs" of youth in their educational programs that they neglected their fundamental task of training the mind. Certainly more than 60 per cent of the children of the country are capable of better than mere "life adjustment training," he said, as a recurrent conference of educators had implied. Such teaching created a public with a contempt for intellectual effort, with a resultant peril to intellectual freedom. He urged the learned professions to speak out on the subject and proposed a series of resolutions culminating in a proposal to create a Scientific and Scholarly Commission on Secondary Education. Speaking second, Carlton J. H. Hayes supported Professor Bestor's stand and recalled the days when the American Historical Association had had a succession of committees on the subject of teaching history in the schools whose findings were acted upon. Today in the hands of professional educators the schools are without high regard for scholarship or scholars. "Social awareness" and "the more important aspects of life in society" are aimed at by educators, with the only possible result an indoctrination by teachers of children who have no mental training or any diffusion of sound knowledge.

In rebuttal William H. Cartwright, a historian by profession and now chairman of the department of education at Duke University, regretted the ending of the co-operation between the American Historical Association and professional educators. He brought forth evidence to show that the quality of teachers in the nineteenth century was often poor and suggested that even in the basic studies teaching is better today than seventy years ago. Training in American history, he said, is required in three fourths of the teachers' colleges. If it is not better, the historians themselves are to blame for their failure to write texts and to consult with the educators. There was actually an increase in the time spent in schools on history between 1937 and 1947, as shown by Howard Anderson's survey released by the Office of Education in 1949. He maintained that all educational theorists from Plato on envisaged a wider purpose in the schools than mental training alone. He denied that schools are intentionally giving an anti-intellectual training, maintained that they are paying more attention than they did seventy years ago to the subjects which Professor Bestor stressed, that for students who do not go to college or into skilled occupations some form of vocational training in the schools is of the highest importance, and that the professional educators and scholars could and should co-operate. He hoped that the Council would explore means for bringing academic scholars into intimate relations with the schools.

In the brief discussion which followed, several speakers, including Max Savelle, stressed the need for co-operation between departments of education and the learned professions to deal with certain obvious evils in present-day secondary school training.

Three papers were read at the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Association for State and Local History presided over by Howard H. Peckham of the Indiana Historical Bureau. Thomas C. Cochran

of the University of Pennsylvania spoke on "The Social Sciences in Local History," Owen W. Bombard of the Ford Motor Company Archives on "Speaking of Yesterday," and Franklin C. Roberts of Boston University on "Putting a Classroom on Wheels."

## VII

Although sessions dealing with the professional problems of the historian were fewer than in recent meetings, this subject was well represented. The address delivered by Howard K. Beale of the University of Wisconsin at the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association presided over by James L. Sellers of the University of Nebraska was called "The Professional Historian: His Theory and His Practice." The speaker dwelt at some length, with illustrations and a few names, on the shortcomings in method and even in ethics of the professional historian. In partial expiation of their sins the large audience of historians heartily applauded the speaker for his unsparing indictment and the paper was later the subject of lively corridor comment. (The paper will be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Pacific Historical Review*.)

Since the beginning of World War II the United States government has greatly increased the number of historians employed by it in various capacities. At the same time the rapid growth in the bulk of governmental historical materials and the problems created by security considerations have complicated the relations between academic historians and the government. The position of the historian in the government and the relations between the government and other historians have become of grave concern to the profession. A committee of the American Historical Association under the chairmanship of Conyers Read of the University of Pennsylvania has examined the problems involved and presented a detailed report to the Council. This committee also arranged a session on "Clio Goes to Washington: The Professional Historian and the Public Service" which was presided over by Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin.

At this session S. Everett Gleason, Jr., of the National Security Council read a paper in which, on the basis of his own considerable personal experience in government, he listed some of the assets and liabilities of such service for the historian. Against the advantage of having a multitude of records, Dr. Gleason placed the disadvantage of having to cope with the various restrictions governing access to federal archives and documents. Believing that historians accepted in principle the idea of security restrictions on classified materials, he pointed out that there was, however, legitimate complaint against the way in which the principle was sometimes applied in practice. Finally, he stressed the value of a historical training for government work and the real service that the historian performs in subordinating the prerogatives of academic scholarship for the duties of a citizen.

In his comment, Raymond J. Sontag of the University of California at Berkeley emphasized the fact that the government needs historians. Therefore, if the

academically trained historian cannot adapt his rugged individualism to the exigencies of co-operative research and writing under pressure, nonprofessionals will take over. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., of Harvard University commented on the problem of making government records available in usable form to the historian. Unreasonable demands by scholars for premature publication might, he felt, cause government officials to refrain from putting their more confidential views in writing. On the other hand, he warned that historians must not cease their efforts to maintain full freedom of thought and to prevent the calamities of censorship and of official distortion of the historical record.

For a number of years the Association's Committee on Documentary Reproduction working through a number of subcommittees has been engaged in procuring microfilm of documents in foreign repositories for the use of American scholars. A session under the chairmanship of John W. Cronin of the Library of Congress was devoted to the progress made in this work and the problems faced in doing it.

The chairman gave a brief introduction in which he reviewed the co-operation between the Library of Congress, the A.H.A. Committee on Documentary Reproduction, and the committee on Fulbright awards, and likewise pointed out the continued desire on the part of the Library of Congress to co-operate even though it now can support its goodwill only with minor accounts. Edgar L. Erickson, chairman of the A.H.A. committee, reviewed the progress of the committee, stated some of its problems (such as co-ordination of all elements in a successful application for a Fulbright Fellowship), and suggested plans for the future which, perhaps, should be built around the use of microprint rather than microfilm as the ultimate product of a copying project.

Richard W. Hale, Jr., chairman of the subcommittee for France, outlined the past and the projected work of the committee, underscored the need for tact in dealing with the heads of archives and libraries abroad, and suggested the desirable fruits which might result from offers to do something in return for favors granted. Two speakers, Howard C. Rice, Jr., and David L. Dowd, reported upon their activities in the Archives Nationales at Paris and the Archives Departementales du Nord at Lille, respectively, and suggested the desirability of further exploitation of the unpublished bibliographical tools in French archives. They likewise stressed the need for tact.

Loren C. MacKinney, chairman of the subcommittee for Italy, reviewed the activity of the committee, commented extensively upon the problems which result from the well-intentioned but unco-ordinated activities of various societies, committees, and individuals all of whom are striving for the same goal. He asked for further discussion of this point by Lester K. Born of the Library of Congress who has been working on it. (See "Discussion" at the end.) Hilmar C. Krueger reported in considerable detail upon the problems (paleographic, diplomatic, psychological) which he and Professor Reynolds, who had immediately preceded him, had had to solve in their work upon the notarial archives at Genoa. He



was pleased to be able to add a word of praise for the quality and price scale of the microfilming done on his behalf by an Italian photographer in Genoa.

Peter W. Topping, chairman of the subcommittee for Greece, reported upon his year's work in the public and private archives of Greece where he found an almost total lack of microfilming equipment and a very varying degree of coverage in unpublished finding aids.

In the lively discussion period which lasted until 12:45 Dr. Born reported, as requested, not only on the purpose of the Microfilming Clearing House in the National Union Catalog at the Library of Congress, and on its *Bulletin* which appears at irregular intervals as an appendix to the Library's *Information Bulletin*, but also upon the newly established Joint Committee on Micro-Reproduction which has been created by the Council of National Library Associations as a planning body which will represent the interests of consumers and custodians alike and which, it is hoped, will achieve among other things the liaison which now is lacking between various groups. He likewise supplemented the remarks of Dr. Rice and Professor Dowd with respect to the potentials of filming card inventories and the inventories of notaries, and called attention to the article by Richard J. Hayes, director of the National Library of Ireland, which advocates an idea antithetic to the views of most foreign custodians; namely, that Americans should be urged to copy as much as possible of the original sources. George B. Fowler was requested to present a résumé of his recently completed microfilming project in the monastic libraries of Austria, and he added a plea for further concerted effort to rescue Austrian materials. Two scholars who have spent protracted periods of time in France, Dorothy Mackay Quynn and Beatrice Hyslop, remarked upon their problems of securing entree, getting permission to copy, and bringing films into the United States. Dr. Lopez vigorously underscored the remarks of Messrs. MacKinney and Krueger on the need for tact in dealing with Italians, the need for time and leisure in which to broach intended plans, the desirability of addressing Italians in a language other than English, the need to give repeated assurance that the result of the project will not be a lessening of visits to Italian institutions. Other scattered remarks on similar points brought the session to a close.

The subject of a session presided over by Harvey DeWeerd of the University of Missouri was "Problems in the Writing of Air Force History." Robert F. Futrell, U.S.A.F. Historical Division, discussed "Problems of Historiography, Pacific Theater," and Joseph W. Angell, Jr., of the same division spoke on "Peenemunde: A Study in Conflicting Evidence."

The luncheon meeting of the Society of American Archivists presided over by Colonel William D. McCain of the Army Chemical Center heard a paper by Morris L. Radoff, Archivist of Maryland, entitled "What the Archivist Expects of the Historian."

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Society of Church History heard two papers. Nelson R. Burr of the Library of

Congress spoke on "American Church History Sources in the Library of Congress," and Matthew Spinka of Hartford Theological Seminary read a paper entitled "A Historical Sketch of the American Society of Church History—The Latter Phase."

Louis B. Wright and William Haller of the Folger Shakespeare Library gave a tea at the library for the members of the Conference on British Studies. Caroline Robbins of Bryn Mawr College presided over the activities, which consisted of general conversation and examination of exhibits arranged by Dr. Wright and Dr. Haller. It was a thoroughly pleasant occasion.

At the annual dinner meeting of the Association, held on Monday evening, the ballroom of the Mayflower was filled with diners and fringed around the edges with spectators. Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress, served as toastmaster. On behalf of himself and the Association, Dr. Evans sent a telegram of regret and best wishes to Professor J. G. Randall of the University of Illinois, president of the Association, who was unable to attend the meeting. Professor Randall's address, entitled "Historianship" and since published in the January issue of the *Review*, was read for him by Professor Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., of the University of Illinois. Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary of the Association, announced the following prize winners: The Albert J. Beveridge Award went to Clarence Ver Steeg of Northwestern University for his manuscript "Robert Morris, Revolutionary Financier." Harold M. Hyman of Earlham College won honorable mention for his manuscript "The Era of the Oath: Northern Loyalty Tests during the Civil War and Reconstruction." Byron Fairchild of Alexandria, Virginia, was awarded the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications for his "Messrs. William Pepperrell: Merchants at Piscataqua." The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize went to Arthur May of the University of Rochester for his volume *The Hapsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914* (Harvard University Press), with honorable mention to Priscilla Robertson of Anchorage, Kentucky, for her *Revolutions of 1848* (Princeton University Press). Robert H. Ferrell of East Lansing, Michigan, won the George Louis Beer Prize for his *Peace in Their Time: The Origins of the Kellogg-Briand Pact* (Yale University Press), and Adam B. Ulam of Harvard was given honorable mention for his *Titoism and the Cominform* (Harvard University Press). The John H. Dunning Prize was awarded to Louis C. Hunter of American University for his *Steamboats on the Western Rivers* (Harvard University Press, 1949), with honorable mention to George B. Tindall of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina for his *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900* (University of South Carolina Press, 1952).

This summary of the sixty-seventh annual meeting of the American Historical Association is based on the reports furnished by the chairmen of the sessions. When space permitted, they have been reproduced verbatim, but in a few cases cutting was needed. As usual some chairmen failed to send in a report and the program chairman was obliged to use the program to report on the session. Hence

if some scholar who was lolling on the Riviera or burning with grippe finds that he read a paper and one who took his place is unmentioned, let them vent their wrath on the session chairman. The program chairman can simply point out that he is furnishing an example of the danger of relying too much on historical documents.

*Johns Hopkins University*

SIDNEY PAINTER

## **The Year's Business, 1952**

### **REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1952**

Eleven years ago at Chicago I presented my first report as your Executive Secretary and as Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*. The first position I have held longer than my one predecessor and my tenure of the editorship is exceeded only by that master of all historical editors, J. Franklin Jameson. My report today is my twelfth and last. I shall not tire you with any farewell summary of my custodianship in what was begun by both the Association and myself as an experimental concentration of hitherto physically scattered and divided responsibilities in one place and one person. The Council of the Association has inferentially expressed its judgment on the new deal by seeking a successor. I bespeak for him, when he is chosen, the fair deal you have given me. As for myself, I shall count the twelve years as one of the most rewarding services among the many others that have faced me with challenge and response in a somewhat extended life.

I should like to close this introduction to the main business of the report by recalling what to me was an interesting coincidence. It is known to some of you that the archives of the Association are on deposit with the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress. They include an appalling amount of unimportant business details in receipts, invoices, and requisitions for later years and great gaps for the earlier years. Of living members, perhaps Waldo G. Leland and I, although not the oldest, have had such a continuous connection with the affairs of the Association that it would qualify us to screen this bulky collection down to its permanently valuable contribution to the history of the Association. In any case, I took a look at the many shelves some weeks ago. I pulled down one box which by its label covered several years including 1898. On the top of the scanty contents was a brief, naively phrased application for membership by a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin. It was addressed to the Macmillan Company, which still gets these misdirected applications. On the back it was endorsed as forwarded to Professor A. B. Hart of Harvard University. It was the only communication of its kind preserved in all those early records. If I ever screen the archives of the Association, I think I will preserve that letter. I shall add to it a

notation which says that the writer of it discovered it fifty-four years later after a continuous membership in which he had been president of the Association he wished to join and, for twelve years, editor of the *American Historical Review* which he hoped to receive if his application was accepted. This incident is not wholly irrelevant because it explains in part the satisfaction it has given that graduate student to serve an association to which he owes much and from which he has received profit and honor.

The first two matters in any annual report are the general status of the Association itself and the affairs of the *Review*. As to the first, I am happy to report a gain in membership bringing the total on December 1 to 6,097. This passes the goal of 6,000 which I set some years ago. This has been done without any special campaign on the part of the staff which, if it had time for solicitation, could have raised the figures appreciably. The increase has come mostly from those who asked to join and from certain departments that enlist their graduate students. This kind of growth is a healthy and encouraging sign. Later I will say something more about the losses by death which have been somewhat higher than usual. The next published annual report now in press will contain a list of active members with addresses. This is the first list published since 1949. Its preparation is no small burden on the staff and the value and the extent of its use should be carefully considered by the Council if there are to be future lists.

Another triennial task has just been completed. It is the assembling and printing of the list of doctoral dissertations in progress. Making a rough deduction from the numbered entries for duplication by cross reference, it indicates that some 1,600 young men and women are in the final stage of their preparation for the doctorate in history. Some will fall out before they reach their goal and many will be long delayed. Replacements and additions each year will keep this arresting figure at or above its present level. The very numbers, in the face of present openings for employment, constitute a problem for those who set standards in graduate work and assume the responsibility of advising graduate students. Most such advisers are members of this Association and perhaps the Association as such should initiate an inquiry into supply and demand and other basic questions of graduate training in history, such as giving the traditional specialization a broader cultural basis and more attention to the training of those who will be our future college teachers of history.

A matter that is not minor to the students involved is revealed each time the list of doctoral dissertations is prepared, that is, the duplication of the same subject submitted sometimes by as many as four students. That is not a calamity and in most cases can be straightened out by correspondence between students and advisers. Of course some subjects or persons justify what is apparent duplication. The indefensible person is the adviser who does not consult the previous lists and permits a student to start on a topic registered in a printed list. The current list is in the mails and on sale at the Association desk in the lobby. The costs of preparing and printing are roughly twice the price charged. I should add that

the preparation of this list and of the list of members have been in large part the well-discharged responsibility of my secretary, Mrs. Ruth Kosaka.

The publication of the *Writings on American History* has been resumed after a gap of several years. The volume for 1948 in its new form has gone out and its arrangement and convenient size as well as its contents are a tribute to Dr. Masterson, the editor. The volume for 1949 is in press and the manuscript for 1950 is well on its way. Indeed, Dr. Masterson and his assistants are facing us with the embarrassment of having more material to publish than we have funds with which to publish. Dr. Masterson has been transferred from the staff of the Library of Congress, where the Association paid his salary, to the staff of the National Historical Publications Commission. For this we owe thanks to the director of the National Archives, Dr. Wayne Grover. The Association still pays the cost of printing from its allotment from the Smithsonian Institution.

The long and exacting task of transcribing and editing the consolidated index of the *Writings* from 1906 to 1940, undertaken first by David M. Matteson, is in the competent hands of Mrs. Esther Bailey Murphy. There is apparently another year's work to be done. The income from the Matteson bequest carries the current expenditures on the index.

The general financial status of the Association will be reported later by your Treasurer, Dr. S. J. Buck.

Volume fifty-seven of the *Review* from October, 1951, to July, 1952 is its own report and, I hope, a satisfactory one. Its merits in form and to no slight degree in substance, as contributors can testify, are to be credited to the assistant editor, Miss Catharine Seybold. The bibliographical sections, one of its most useful features, to foreign perhaps even more than domestic scholars, is the result of the co-operation of the section editors. I suggest that when you find in your special field an article you would otherwise have missed you look at the name of the section editor to whom you are indebted. The reviews, 220 long ones and 231 short notices, are and will remain one of the chief responsibilities of any editor, especially until the older periodicals in Europe regain their former coverage and excellence in this field. The usual twelve main articles, including the presidential address, and seven shorter notes and suggestions were published. Among the topics or fields, historiography occupied more space than usual. One hundred and twelve articles were received, of which thirteen were accepted. Many of the others will in time find more suitable outlets than the *Review*. Some, I hope, will benefit by the comments of the editor or his referees. The number of books received from May 1, 1951, to April 21, 1952, was 909. Many of these are marginal from the standpoint of the historian. Some are a waste of ink and paper and an occasional one in this group with a misleading title is noticed briefly as a warning to unwary readers or deceiving publishers.

The year's business has been carried on in considerable part by the standing committees of the Association. Their business is carried on by mail which is a hardship especially to some of the prize-awarding committees and to such an

important committee as the Committee on Nominations. Nevertheless, under good chairmen, they have completed their work and I present summaries of reports that will appear in full in the printed annual report.

I pass over the reports of the Committee on Committees and the Nominating Committee which will be presented later as separate items on the agenda. The results of the deliberations of the prize-awarding committees will be announced at the annual dinner. The announcements will include the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, Lowell Ragatz of Ohio State University, chairman; the George Louis Beer Prize, Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern University, acting chairman in the place of Howard M. Smyth; the Albert J. Beveridge Fellowship, Mrs. Dorothy Burne Goebel of Hunter College, chairman; the Carnegie Revolving Fund, Raymond P. Stearns of the University of Illinois, chairman, and the John H. Dunning Prize, Lawrence A. Harper of the University of California, chairman. The other prize committees are not due to report this year. (For prize winners, see p. 764 above.)

The report of the Committee on the Annual Report, Wood Gray of George Washington University, chairman, is covered in what I have said above concerning the *Writings on American History* and the Matteson Index.

The Committee on Honorary Members, Richard H. Shryock, chairman, has submitted and the Council has approved the names of Franz Schnabel of Germany, Costi Zurayk of Lebanon, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar of India. It will be clear that in the choice of the last two the committee felt an obligation to recognize the best historical scholarship of the Middle and Far East. Both choices are justified on their merits by the standards set by the committee in all past cases. The name of Franz Schnabel needs no comment to those familiar with his outstanding work on Germany in the nineteenth century. The other members on this roll of special distinction are: Gaetano De Sanctis, Italy; Alfons Dopsch, Austria; George Peabody Gooch, England; Hu Shih, China; Halvdan Koht, Norway; Vicente Lecuna, Venezuela; Friedrich Meinecke, Germany; Frederick Maurice Powicke, England; Pierre Renouvin, France; Affonso de Escragnolle Taunay, Brazil; George Macaulay Trevelyan, England; and Charles Kingsley Webster, England.

The report of the Committee on Documentary Reproduction shows the vigorous efforts and solid results we have come to expect from its chairman, Professor Edgar L. Erickson of the University of Illinois. The work of the committee has been made possible by co-operation with the Library of Congress and the Mediaeval Academy and by utilization of Fulbright fellows. The aids to scholarship in the form of microfilms of documents, indexes, and catalogues extend from Greece to the Philippines.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the first self-liquidating project of the committee,

<sup>1</sup> During 1951-52, Professor Hilmar C. Krueger, University of Cincinnati, continued the work begun the previous year by Professor Robert L. Reynolds, University of Wisconsin, of microfilming the notarial cartularies of the Archivio di Stato, Genoa, Italy. Professor Krueger edited and microfilmed thirty volumes of the *Pandette dei notai antichi* series in the Archivio di Stato, Genoa, and one volume of the *Chartularium Analdi Cumani et Johannis de Donato* series in the Archivio di Stato, Savonia. During 1951-52, Professor George B. Fowler, Univer-



the reproduction by microfilm and sale to subscribing libraries of the British House of Commons *Sessional Papers* for the nineteenth century, has in the past year covered 2,256 volumes from 1865 to 1891. The aid of the graduate school funds of the University of Illinois in proofing this material is gratefully acknowledged. The complete collection of nearly 6,000 volumes is available to libraries at a cost of \$6,000. The nineteenth-century issues of the *Sessional Papers* will be completed this coming year. It is then proposed to proceed to the reproduction of the papers of the eighteenth century.

The Committee on Government Publications, Mrs. Jeannette Nichols, chairman, has continued opportunity offered to testify to the interest of historians in the publications of the Department of State. The chairman has sat as a member of the ad hoc Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, whose report to the Council and the Council's action on it will be reported later. Mrs. Nichols will present later resolutions which reaffirm our continued interest in the publications by the government of the basic documents on our past international relations.

This Association belongs to and has representation in several domestic organizations and one international one. In the first group, we have long been actively interested in two, the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. Your reporter for the Social Science Research Council is Dean Roy F. Nichols of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania. He emphasizes as of first importance the organization of a second committee on historiography which will have Thomas C. Cochran as chairman. The committee has already begun to outline its task and identify the problems to be considered. Our representatives have served on almost all key committees. Historians have received twenty grants-in-aid, ten fellowships, and six Faculty Research Fellowships.

For the American Council of Learned Societies, Professor Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton reports that the organization is continuing and has concentrated on its fellowship program and on the encouragement of Asian and Russian studies. A grant from the Ford Foundation will support the study of Oriental languages in American universities. By the resignation of Charles Odegaard the Council has again been forced to seek a new director.

Other domestic organizations also merit your attention.

Professor Thomas C. Cochran, our representative on the National Records Management Council, reports that the Council has expended over \$35,000 for

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sity of Pittsburgh, screened and microfilmed *Kataloge*, *Zettel-Kataloge* and *Verzeichnisse* of Austrian collections of manuscripts, incunabula, and early printed books before 1600. Articles descriptive of the work done by Professor Peter Topping in Greece and by Professors Krueger and Fowler while Fulbright research scholars have been or will be published in the *American Archivist*. During the present year, 1952-53, Mr. Edgar B. Wickberg of the University of California, Berkeley, is in the Philippines to survey the badly damaged archives there with the view to arranging for the microfilming of unpublished catalogues and inventories. During the coming year, Dr. Dorothy Schullian of the Armed Forces Library in Cleveland, Ohio, will direct the microfilming of the Ceruti manuscript inventories of the Ambrosian Library in Milan. Other microfilm projects are in the process of planning or execution.

fellowships, publications, and research. It is expanding its activities in the Chicago area and will soon open an office in San Francisco.

*Social Education*, the organ of the National Council for the Social Studies primarily for secondary and grade schools, has continued to serve its constituency well under the editorship of Dr. Lewis Paul Todd.

The National Council for the Preservation of Historic Sites and Buildings has been merged with the National Trust for Historic Preservation. This action will remove confusion and overlapping and give the Trust a wider base in national membership. The two historic properties it now owns and operates are only a beginning. Many others have been offered but without financing for their maintenance. Its activities will never reach the proportions of the British National Trust, which now administers over a thousand properties totaling 250,000 acres of land.

The National Historical Publications Commission revived by President Truman is another organization of great promise for the future. Some future executive secretary will have an interesting report to make of its accomplishments. It is now emerging from the planning stage. It needs always to be emphasized that its chief function will be co-operation with and approval of local, individual, and state projects. Any activities the commission undertakes will be in the national field such as the records of the states in adopting the Constitution and the first ten amendments and the records of the first federal Congress setting up the national government. These will require financial aid from Congress. When the time comes, this Association should be the most active group in supporting the Commission's program.

The one international organization in which we have membership and responsibility is the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Here Professor Donald McKay of Harvard has been our efficient representative. The office in Washington acting for the Association, which is the American National Committee, has co-operated with him in preparing for meetings and has supplied the United States contribution to the *International Bibliography*. In the future, current news in the historical field will have to be supplied to a projected international news bulletin. Our European colleagues attribute to us more fluid funds than we have to support this important international organization but recognize the disproportionate cost we bear when we send a representative to Europe. I must confess that I would be happier if we could increase our contribution to the central treasury.

Two special ad hoc committees remain to be mentioned. The first, headed by President W. K. Jordan of Radcliffe, is seeking to arrange for the publication of new editions of three standard bibliographies of British history by Gross, Read, and Davies. This involves negotiations with publishers and the Royal Historical Society which was a co-sponsor of the last two. These negotiations seem to be progressing successfully. Then will come the task of securing new editors and funds with which to compensate them.

The report of the other special committee, the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, with an inclusive membership under the chairmanship of Professor Conyers Read, has had the support of \$3,500 from the Rockefeller Foundation. This has enabled them to hold numerous meetings in Washington and Philadelphia. Their final report to the Council has been circulated to a number of members and was the basis of discussion in one session at this meeting. The report is a well-organized and illuminating summary of the matters which the committee has covered in its deliberations. It recommends to the Council the establishment of a standing committee in this field and the appropriation of \$1,000 to enable the committee to meet at least four times a year. In its meeting last Saturday, December 27, the Council voted that a standing Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government be appointed, upon nomination by the Committee on Committees, which will include the functions now performed by the ad hoc committee, the Committee on Government Publications, and the Committee on the Annual Report. The Executive Secretary was designated as an ex officio member of this committee. The Council did not approve the specific budget item suggested by the ad hoc committee. It did, however, set aside a sum not to exceed \$2,000 to be assigned by the Executive Committee to the support of meetings of such committees as the Nominating Committee, the Committee on the Bestor Resolutions, and the new Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government. Such allocations would be made on the basis of estimates furnished by the chairmen of these or any committees asking support.

Here ends the reading of the year's record. It is but a paragraph in the larger story of the nation's cultural history. It is not, however, an unimportant paragraph though obscured for the time by the portentous events of national and world history since my first report in 1941. At that time, we were still stunned and appalled by the exploding bombs at Pearl Harbor. The measure of our increased tolerance of death and destruction and stolid acceptance of new lethal weapons that threaten our civilization is the fact that the reported achievement of the H-bomb was almost unregistered in the public consciousness. We no longer fear new weapons. To judge by the public press and our representatives from school boards to congressional committees, we fear new ideas much more. Remnants of nineteenth-century liberalism and a Jeffersonian belief in the ultimate triumph of the tenets of democracy in the free forum of public discussion run the constant risk of being considered subversive. The real danger of alien ideas and foreign dictatorial ambitions of world-wide scope should not drive us into imitation of procedures perfected and practiced by those who have regimented not alone the lives of men but their thinking. The only intolerance that befits a democracy is the intolerance of the intolerant whether of the right or the left.

The danger to which I have alluded and the mephitic atmosphere it spreads is characterized in a recent utterance of one of our greatest jurists, Judge Learned Hand. Here are his words:

I believe that that community is already in the process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy; where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open list to win or lose.

This was summed up in homelier language by an old Indiana farmer when he said to a friend of mine, "John, God never made one man to be afraid of another."

This valedictory springs in part from current events and more from a personal conviction that today the most important part of the document we transferred recently with pomp and circumstance to the custody of the National Archives is the Bill of Rights. As was then emphasized, the real custodianship is not in a bombproof vault but in the hearts and minds of the American people. You who write our history are supremely charged to keep unfaltering the spirit that shines forth from the ancient document though the letters on the parchment may grow dim.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, MAYFLOWER HOTEL,  
WASHINGTON, D.C., DECEMBER 27, 1952, 10:00 A.M.

Present: Louis Gottschalk, Vice-President; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary; Thomas A. Bailey, A. E. R. Boak, E. C. Kirkland, Sidney Painter, Dexter Perkins, Max Savelle, Joseph R. Strayer, Councilors; Charles H. McIlwain, Conyers Read, Robert L. Schuyler, Thomas J. Wertenbaker, former Presidents.

Vice-President Gottschalk called the meeting to order in President Randall's absence because of illness.

The minutes of the 1951 Council meeting were approved as published in the April, 1952, issue of the *Review* (pp. 830-37).

Mr. Ford summarized his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. (See pp. 765-72 above.)

The Council expressed its interest in the possibility of the distribution of the *Annual Report*, Volume I, and Volume II, *Writings on American History*, to all members of the Association desiring copies. The suggestion was made that the Executive Secretary seek to determine by a questionnaire the number of members who might be interested in receiving the *Reports* and/or the *Writings* if available.

The Council then made certain suggestions to the Executive Secretary of names to be considered for chairman of the Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.

The Treasurer, Dr. Buck, reviewed the financial statement for the fiscal year 1951-52 which he later summarized at the business meeting. The financial assets

of the Association on August 31, 1952, amounted to \$508,074.71, of which \$238,617.36 is unrestricted and \$269,430.35 is restricted. The receipts of unrestricted funds exceeded disbursements by \$2,207.81. It should be noted, however, that the disbursements included an investment of \$3,000. It would appear, therefore, that the receipts of unrestricted funds exceeded the expenditures from such funds for operations by \$5,207.81.

Dr. Buck then reported for the Finance Committee, submitting an amended budget for the current year and a proposed budget for the next fiscal year. He called the attention of the Council to the fact that action on other items on the agenda might make further changes in the budget necessary. It was moved that the Council approve the revised budget for the current fiscal year and the tentative budget for the next fiscal year with the understanding that the revised budget for the current year may be modified by the Executive Committee if circumstances make it advisable. The motion was seconded and carried. The Council also approved the expenditure of money spent in excess on certain items of the original budget for 1951-52.

The following committees nominated by the Committee on Committees of the Association were approved by the Council:

*Committee on Committees.*—Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); John D. Hicks,\* University of California, Berkeley—term expires December, 1955; T. Walter Johnson, University of Chicago—term expires December, 1953; David E. Owen, Harvard University—term expires December, 1953; James W. Patton, University of North Carolina—term expires December, 1954.

*Committee on Honorary Members.*—Richard H. Shryock, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Hugh Borton,\* Columbia University; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Lewis Hanke, University of Texas; Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D.C.; Geroid T. Robinson, Columbia University; Raymond J. Sontag, University of California, Berkeley; Charles S. Sydnor,\* Duke University.

*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.*—Lowell Ragatz, Ohio State University, chairman; Francis J. Bowman,\* University of Southern California; A. William Salomone, New York University.

*Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.*—Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University, chairman; Sinclair W. Armstrong,\* Brown University; O. J. Hale, University of Virginia.

*Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.*—David Potter, Yale University, chairman; Earl S. Pomeroy,\* University of Oregon; Francis B. Simkins, Longwood College.

*Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.*—Dorothy Burne Goebel, Hunter College, chairman; Fred H. Harrington, University of Wisconsin; Ralph W.

\*New member this year.

Hidy,\* New York University; John T. Lanning, Duke University; Alice Felt Tyler, University of Minnesota.

*Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.*—Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois, chairman; Eugene N. Anderson,\* University of Nebraska; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina.

*Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.*—Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Harvard University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark D. Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Newark, New Jersey.

*Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.*—Paul Knaplund, University of Wisconsin, chairman; John B. Brebner, Columbia University; George W. Brown, University of Toronto.

*Committee on the Watumull Prize.*—Taraknath Das, Columbia University, chairman; T. Walter Wallbank, University of Southern California; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin.

*Committee on Documentary Reproduction.*—Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; J. Harry Bennett,\* University of Texas; Cornelius W. de Kiewiet, University of Rochester; Austin P. Evans, Columbia University; Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Easton Rothwell, Stanford University; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University; Richard W. Hale, Jr., Wellesley College.

The Council then proceeded to elect the following delegates of the American Historical Association.—*American Council of Learned Societies:* Charles H. Taylor,\* Harvard University. *International Committee of Historical Sciences:* Donald C. McKay, Harvard University; Philip E. Mosely, Columbia University. *National Historical Publications Commission:* Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex. *National Records Management Council:* Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1955. *Social Education:* Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Robert E. Riegel, Dartmouth College. *Social Science Research Council:* Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University—term expires December, 1954; Gordon A. Craig, Princeton University—term expires December, 1955; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1953.

The report of the Albert J. Beveridge Committee, having first been duplicated and circulated in advance to the Council, was summarized by the Executive Secretary. The Council approved the committee's recommendations that the name "Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship" be changed to the "Albert J. Beveridge Award" and that the award shall consist of a cash prize of \$1,000 to the author and publication of the manuscript by the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.

\*New member this year.



The other suggestions of the committee were considered as entirely within the jurisdiction of the committee itself and not requiring Council action.

Two changes in the terms of the John H. Dunning Prize were approved by the Council. (1) Eligibility of printed works submitted in competition for this prize shall be limited to books printed within two years and five months prior to June 1 of the year in which the award is made. (2) All future entries shall be restricted to "first books" or unpublished manuscripts and preference given to those of younger scholars.

The Executive Secretary reported that, in agreement with the president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, he was recommending the discontinuance of the special committee set up to co-operate with the Bureau of the Census. This committee, initiated at the request of the Bureau, found that the Bureau had no funds to publish monographs it might suggest nor did the material lend itself readily to historical treatment. On motion made and carried, the Council voted to discontinue the committee with an expression of gratitude to members of the committee for their service.

In accordance with the mandate of the Council as set forth one year ago, the ad hoc Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government submitted to all Council members in advance of the meeting copies of a report embodying a definite plan for a committee which would perform the functions subsumed under the name of the temporary committee. After a thorough discussion, the Council voted that a standing Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government be appointed, upon nomination by the Committee on Committees, which will include the functions now performed by the ad hoc committee, the Committee on Government Publications, and the Committee on the Annual Report. The Executive Secretary was designated as an ex officio member of this committee. The Council did not approve the specific budget item suggested by the ad hoc committee. It did, however, set aside a sum not to exceed \$2,000 to be assigned by the Executive Committee to the support of meetings of such committees as the Nominating Committee, the Committee on the Bestor Resolutions, and the new Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government. Such allocations would be made on the basis of estimates furnished by the chairmen of these or any committees asking support.

Upon nomination by the Committee on Honorary Members, the Council elected as honorary life members the following persons:

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, b. 1870. M.A. and D. Litt. Professor of Indian History, Benares; Lecturer at Madras, etc. Vice Chancellor, Calcutta University, 1926-28; Indian Educational Service (ret.); Honorary Member, Royal Asiatic Society; Member, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1919-41; Corresponding Member, Royal Historical Society, etc. Author: *The India of Aurangzib—Statistics, Topography and Roads; History of Aurangzib* (5 vols.); *Economics of British India; Fall of the Mughal Empire* (3 vols.), etc. Address: 10 Lake Terrace, Calcutta 29, India.

Dr. Franz Schnabel, b. Mannheim, 1887, educated at Heidelberg and Berlin, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Munich, 1947—. Author: *Europa im 18. Jahrhundert u. das Zeitalter Napoleons* (1929); *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert* (4 vols., 1926–36); *Geschichte der neuesten Zeit* (1924; 7th ed., 1931), etc. Address: Ludwigstrasse 17, Munich, Germany.

Dr. Costi Zurayk (Constantine Zreik), b. Damascus, 1909; A.B. American University of Beirut, 1928, A.M. University of Chicago, 1929, Ph.D. Princeton, 1930; Adjunct professor of history, American University of Beirut, 1930–40, associate professor of history, 1940–45; 1st Counselor, Syrian Legation, Washington, D.C., March–November, 1945, envoy extraordinary and minister of Syria to Washington, 1946, 1947; delegate to General Assembly of U.N., 2d part of 1st session; alternate representative of Syria on Security Council; Vice-President, American University of Beirut; Rector, Syrian University; Member UNESCO Commission on "A History of Mankind." Author: *National Consciousness* (in Arabic; 1939); trans. from German to Arabic (with P. Jouze), Th. Noeldeke's *Die Ghassanische Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna* (1933). Editor: *Al-Yazidiyyah quadima wa haditha* (summaries of Yazidi doctrines and recent history) by Ismail Bey Chol (1934).

Dr. Read presented a report on behalf of the Committee on the Bibliography of British History. The committee is hopeful that the necessary arrangements between publishers, the Royal Historical Society, and the American Historical Association to bring out new editions of Gross, Read, and Davies can be made.

Mr. Ford, as Managing Editor of the *Review*, reported that in succession to Professors Gray C. Boyce and J. A. O. Larsen, who were retiring after five-year terms on the Board of Editors, he had appointed Professors T. R. S. Broughton of Bryn Mawr College and Loren C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina.

Professor Wallace K. Ferguson of New York University was designated by the Council to represent the American Historical Association on a committee to foster co-operative studies in the Renaissance period.

Dr. Buck explained to the Council that the Library of Congress was interested in initiating a series of discussions with representatives of learned societies primarily interested in manuscript accumulation and use which might lead to some general principles applicable to the collection and deposit of manuscripts in the most appropriate depository. For this purpose, the Council named as its representative Professor C. Vann Woodward of the Johns Hopkins University.

Dr. Buck, who has been the representative of the American Historical Association to the American Documentation Institute, commented on its changed character. It is now primarily a group of individuals technically interested in this special field. There is, therefore, less reason for institutions and associations to maintain membership. He announced his intention of resigning before the next meeting of the Institute. The Council decided to discontinue membership in the Institute and not to appoint any successor to Dr. Buck.

The resolutions concerning public education, presented by Professor Arthur E. Bestor, *et al.*, had been reproduced and circulated in advance to the members of the Council. After full discussion, it was agreed that the matter should be referred to a committee in terms of a resolution which the Council then agreed upon:

The Council discussed sympathetically Professor Bestor's resolutions concerning public education. After careful consideration, it was the consensus in the Council that the problem presented by these resolutions is a serious one, meriting close and thoughtful study before any action by the Association. The Council felt, however, that adoption of these resolutions in their present text would be premature, since action by the Association must take into due account certain important implications of any such action.

For the Association should very carefully determine, first, precisely what the policy of the Association itself ought to be, relative to this problem. Secondly, it is thought that the Association should approach the other learned societies with a view of formulating some sort of common policy with them. Thirdly, it is thought that any effective implementation of the sense of the resolutions would best be forwarded by taking into consideration the mature thought of the professional educators who are conscious of this problem and would wish to collaborate in the formulation of any comprehensive statement on national educational policy.

The Council therefore authorizes the incoming president of the Association to appoint a committee to formulate and bring to the Association a statement of its policy, to approach the other learned societies and professional educators on the subject of a common position relative to the problem, and to discuss with them the possible setting up of the proposed interdisciplinary educational commission.

A report on the relations of the American Historical Association with the International Committee of Historical Sciences was presented by Dr. Waldo G. Leland. Dr. Leland began by calling attention to the report already printed in the October 1952 issue of the *American Historical Review* (pp. 228-33), covering the Brussels meeting of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. He then went on to urge that the American Historical Association has for historical reasons a very definite responsibility for co-operating in every way possible with the I.C.H.S.

The I.C.H.S. is, in a very real sense, the creation of the American Historical Association. In the Brussels International Congress of Historical Sciences in 1923 the representatives of the A.H.A. took the initiative in assuring that a permanent international historical organization should be created. In 1925-26 the Association, thanks to the intervention of Dr. G. S. Ford, secured a subsidy from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, which made it possible to proceed with the organization (Geneva, 1926) of the I.C.H.S. Additional subsidies were secured by the A.H.A. which made it possible for the I.C.H.S. to adopt a program of scientific activities and to become the leading international organization in the fields of the humanities and the social sciences. During its first years the treasury and the legal headquarters of the I.C.H.S. were in Washington under the sponsorship of the A.H.A. The A.H.A. has been from the beginning the "national com-

mittee" of the United States for representing the I.C.H.S. and co-operating with it.

As the national committee for the I.C.H.S., this Association is expected to maintain representation on its councils and committees and to report from time to time on historical work of interest to the historians of other nations, to contribute to the international bibliography, and to aid in the preparation and the circulation of other publications of the I.C.H.S. The Association should, if possible, increase its payment of annual dues above the present minimum requirement but may properly take into account the heavy contribution it makes when it pays the expenses to Europe and return of a delegate. The immediate task is the selection of topics and participants representing American scholarship who may appear on the program of the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Rome in 1955.

The Council discussed the report of Dr. Leland and authorized the Executive Secretary to increase the contribution of the American Historical Association to 500 Swiss francs. It also approved the establishment of a standing committee on international relations to be appointed initially by the president for staggered five-year terms. The Executive Secretary and the official representative of the Association to the I.C.H.S. are to be *ex officio* members. Participation in the International Congress in 1955 would fall under the jurisdiction of this committee and it was authorized, if necessary, to constitute a subcommittee to consider the matter of programs and participants.

Professor Ralph E. Turner, chairman of the editorial committee of the International Commission for a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind, appeared before the Council to present a request for the formation of a committee to co-operate with the Commission. Dr. Turner explained that he should like to have such a committee select topics and choose writers for them, especially on American culture but also on other matters. A committee of seven members was suggested, of which three at least should be thoroughly competent scholars in American history. In Dr. Turner's opinion, it would not be necessary to have anyone in Oriental history, which would be provided for in other committees. The life of this committee would be coincident with the life of the project. The Council approved the appointment of such a committee, not to exceed seven in number, and referred the matter of nomination of members to the Committee on Committees.

The Council discussed in an informal way the substance of a letter from the Executive Secretary *pro tem* of the Association of Research Libraries. The letter raised the question of centralization or decentralization of the personal papers of federal officials, primarily the President. The discussion of the merits and demerits of centralization turned to what was apparently the more important first concern of scholars and that was the institution in the White House of a records-administrator who might from day to day guide the flow of incoming materials so that a clear line would be established between what were essentially public documents and what were personal to the President. No action was taken.

The concern of several members of the Council as to the possibility that in the change of administration the Archivist of the United States might be considered a political appointment led to a discussion of the necessity of making any appointment to this position dependent upon professional and scholarly qualifications. The Council formulated its views and deep interests in the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the American Historical Association, having a deep interest in agencies of the Federal Government serving the needs of historical scholarship, is particularly concerned with the sound evolution of the National Archives, in whose creation it played a leading role; and

WHEREAS, agencies such as these operate on a technical and professional level removed from considerations of national policy; and

WHEREAS, such technical and professional agencies benefit from continuity of leadership; and

WHEREAS, these agencies have enjoyed the advantages of wise and experienced management, therefore be it

*Resolved*, that the Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association, in behalf of the Council, respectfully urge the President-elect and his advisers to give favorable consideration to continuing the National Archives under a professionally qualified director such as the present competent incumbent. This would be parallel to the policy prevailing for the last half-century in the case of the Librarian of Congress.

In response to a request for a second representative of the American Historical Association to the committee for the organization of the Second Congress of the Historians of Mexico and the United States, the Council voted to record its promise of continued co-operation with the appropriate Mexican institutions to promote the Congress and designated Professor E. C. Kirkland of Bowdoin College to serve with Professor Lewis Hanke, University of Texas, as the representatives of the Association.

The Council approved the budget for *Social Education*.

The Council confirmed the action of the Executive Secretary in securing Professor Howard M. Ehrmann of the University of Michigan as chairman of the program committee for 1953 and Dr. Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library as chairman of the local arrangements committee, each chairman being authorized to complete the roster of his committee.

Washington, D.C., was selected by the Council as the site of the 1955 meeting. The meeting in 1953 will be in Chicago and in 1954 in New York. Mr. Ford informed the Council that reservations had already been placed with the headquarters hotel in New York for 1957.

A letter from Professor John D. Hicks of the University of California was brought to the attention of the Council. Professor Hicks suggests that September instead of December would be a more desirable time of the year for the Association's annual meetings. After discussion, the Council voted to get a sampling of opinion on this matter by enclosing a questionnaire with the ballots when they are sent out to the members in 1953. The results of this polling of the membership

will be discussed at the Council's next meeting and any action which may be necessary will be taken at that time. It was pointed out, however, that in view of our commitments through 1953 and 1954 it would be difficult to make any change immediately.

The Council elected the following members of the Executive Committee: Louis Gottschalk, chairman; Sidney Painter; Robert L. Schuyler; Joseph R. Strayer; Solon J. Buck (ex officio); Guy Stanton Ford (ex officio).

The Committee to Select an Executive Secretary made a preliminary report of progress. It asked and received authority to proceed along its present lines and to negotiate with the candidate of its choice, reporting its results for final confirmation to the Executive Committee at a meeting to be held in the spring of 1953. It was also made clear that members of the Council were still free to submit additional names of possible candidates.

The Council appointed Professors Boak and Perkins as members of the Committee on Resolutions.

There being no further business, the Council adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, MAYFLOWER HOTEL,  
WASHINGTON, D.C., DECEMBER 29, 1952, 4:15 P.M.

Vice-President Louis R. Gottschalk called the meeting to order with about four hundred members present. It was unanimously voted to approve the minutes of the last meeting as printed in the April, 1952, issue of the *American Historical Review* (pp. 838-40).

Mr. Ford read his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. (See pp. 765-72 above.)

The Treasurer, Dr. Buck, presented a summary of his report, copies of which had been distributed to the members. The motion was made and passed to accept the report and to place it on file. (The report will be printed in full in the *Annual Report* for 1952.)

Arthur W. Page was elected as chairman of the Board of Trustees to replace W. Randolph Burgess, resigned; Thomas I. Parkinson was re-elected as a member of the Board; J. Percy Ebbott, president of the Chase National Bank, was elected to fill the vacancy on the Board.

The chairman, Professor Beatrice F. Hyslop of Hunter College, gave the report of the Nominating Committee. As a result of the mail ballots cast, the committee announced the election of the following:

Members of the Council—Herbert Heaton of the University of Minnesota and Richard H. Shryock of the Johns Hopkins University.

Members of the Nominating Committee—Frederick B. Artz of Oberlin Col-



lege, Arthur E. Bestor of the University of Illinois, and Frederick L. Nussbaum of the University of Wyoming.

For the Presidency of the Association for the year 1953, the committee nominated Professor Louis R. Gottschalk; for the Vice-Presidency, Professor Merle Curti; and for the office of Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck. On motion, the Executive Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for all nominees, and they were declared elected.

A brief statement on deceased members was given by Mr. Ford reporting the deaths of two honorary members, eight life members, and thirty-two annual members since December, 1951.

The amendment to Section I of Article III of the Constitution, having been approved by the Council and printed in the July, 1952, issue of the *Review* (p. 1084), was unanimously adopted. This amendment provides for a junior membership at \$4 a year and an increase in annual dues to \$7.50 and \$150 for life membership.

Mr. Ford reported for the information of the Association actions taken by the Council concerning delegates and committees (see minutes of the Council meeting, pp. 773-74 above), the announcement of the program chairman, Professor Howard M. Ehrmann, and the local arrangements chairman, Dr. Stanley Pargellis, for the 1953 meeting, questionnaires to be mailed out with the ballots in 1953 to poll members on the question of changing the dates of the annual meeting, and the membership of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Secretary then presented the resolution adopted by the Council after it had considered the statement presented by Professor Arthur E. Bestor, *et al.* The Association approved the action of the Council as embodied in its resolution (see p. 777 above).

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch was made by Professor Engel Sluiter of the University of California, Berkeley.

The following resolution was submitted by Mrs. Jeannette P. Nichols, chairman of the Committee on Government Publications:

Whereas the American Historical Association has through the years made known to government agencies and the appropriate congressional officials its interest in government publication of documentary records essential for the proper understanding of American history; and whereas the inauguration of a new Administration and assembling of a new Congress shift responsibility for publication programs and for their covering appropriations upon new shoulders, it again becomes incumbent upon the Association to present its views upon programs in which it has a vital interest.

Concerning government publications in general, the Association attests anew its belief that the publication program should be expanded, especially in such fields as shall enlarge our knowledge of government operations, of the life of the people, and of the historical development of the nation.

Concerning the basic documentary compilations, the American Historical Association urges that the Department of State be equipped to narrow the time-lag

between the dates of documents and their publication in *Foreign Relations of the United States*; this series, forming the official documentary record of American diplomacy since 1861, has fallen eighteen years behind currency—a matter of serious concern to historians and others interested in the origin and conduct of the Second World War as background for present international problems. Also, the American Historical Association urges the importance of speeding up the publication, in collaboration with the British and French governments, of the German Foreign Office records in the series, *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*.

Concerning the general requirements of a sound information program, the American Historical Association urges support of liberal policies by government agencies, frequent consultation between them and the proper officials of the Association, looking to the fullest possible presentation of information on recent and current diplomacy.

The Executive Secretary of the Association is requested to communicate to the appropriate agencies and congressional committees the foregoing resolution.

On motion made and carried, the above resolutions were approved.

Professor Arthur E. R. Boak presented the following resolutions for the Committee on Resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the American Historical Association express its thanks to the chairman of the Program Committee, Professor Sidney Painter, and to its other members for their effective organization of the program with its broad representation of many historical interests; to Dean Elmer L. Kayser of George Washington University and his colleagues of the Committee on Local Arrangements for their skillful handling of their many problems; and to all those volunteer workers associated in making provisions for this meeting.

*Resolved*, That the Association extend to Dr. Guy Stanton Ford an expression of high appreciation of his distinguished services to historical learning for the past twelve years as the principal administrative officer of this Association and editor of the *American Historical Review* and that it tender to him its best wishes for the coming year of his retirement.

The chairman said that he would take the liberty of presenting the second resolution first and added his own words of appreciation. The second resolution was adopted by a standing vote. President Gottschalk then presented the first resolution, which was adopted.

Professor Sidney Painter made a brief statement announcing the Anglo-American Conference of Historians to be held July 9-11, 1953, at the University of London. He asked that all communications be sent to Mr. Taylor Milne, Secretary of the Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, London, W.C.1.

As there was no further business, Professor Frank Maloy Anderson moved that the meeting be adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

## American Historical Association

Professor Thomas C. Cochran, chairman of the nominating committee for 1953, will welcome suggestions from members for the offices of vice-president, two Council members, and two members of the nominating committee. Suggestions should be sent as soon as possible to Professor Cochran, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4.

The annual competition for the Albert J. Beveridge Award of the American Historical Association for the best original manuscript in American history will close this year on May 1. The award has a cash value of \$1,000 and provides for free publication in the Beveridge series. Honorable mention may also be awarded to one or more additional manuscripts, and this award, too, carries with it free publication in the Beveridge series. "American history" is interpreted as including the history of the United States, Canada, and Latin America. All correspondence, including requests for further information and forms of application, should be addressed to Dorothy Burne Goebel, Department of History, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York 21, N.Y.

Reprints of the membership list of the Association are now available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for 45 cents.

## Other Historical Activities

The executors of the estate of John J. Pershing, General of the Armies of the United States, have formally transferred title in the Pershing Papers to the Library of Congress, according to the will left by General Pershing at the time of his death in 1948. The value of this large group of papers, some 147,000 pieces, can scarcely be overemphasized. They relate, it is believed, to every major phase of General Pershing's long and distinguished career, from the time he was a young officer in the Apache Indian campaigns in the southwest through the years of his outstanding service as commander in chief of the American Expeditionary Force in World War I. Public notice will be given when the papers are ready for use, and requests for permission to consult them may be submitted at that time to the Chief of the Manuscripts Division.

The Honorable Tom Connally of Texas has presented to the Library his personal papers, which consist of a series of 42 scrapbooks recording his activities from 1916 to 1952, and more than 100,000 unbound pieces relating to his legislative career during the same period. The collection includes a vast amount of general correspondence, as well as special correspondence files on constituents and veterans, and on such subjects as political campaigns, immigration, tidelands

oil, national defense, and atomic energy. The senator's correspondence as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is not with his papers, but remains in the custody of the clerk of that committee.

The personal papers of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, chemist, author, and lecturer, have been received by the Library as a gift from Mrs. Wiley. Numbering nearly 70,000 pieces, the papers reflect all three phases of Dr. Wiley's career: as a student and teacher of chemistry; as chief of the Bureau of Chemistry (1888-1912), in which post he spent over twenty years fighting for a pure food law and another five years fighting for its enforcement; and, later, as author, lecturer, and director of the Bureau of Food, Sanitation, and Health of *Good Housekeeping Magazine*. The Wiley Papers may be consulted under "Library Restrictions" as soon as their preliminary processing has been completed.

Mr. John P. Frey, retired labor leader and editor, has presented his papers (ca. 5,000 pieces) to the Library. They concern especially his long-time connection with the American Federation of Labor and his twenty-four years as editor of the *International Moulder's Journal*; they evidence, in addition, his close relations with outstanding labor leaders in the United States, England, Germany, and elsewhere. Mr. Frey's significant service at the International Economic Conference at Geneva in 1927 is documented, as is the part he played before and during World War II in the ironing out of labor controversies, especially in the country's shipyards.

Some 10,000 pieces have been added to the main body of Woodrow Wilson Papers by Mrs. Wilson; there are notes and drafts for college lectures and addresses, early manuscripts of books and articles, and a good deal of correspondence, much of which falls within 1910, a year which has been rather sparsely documented up to this time. Dr. Karl A. Meyer of Chicago has given the Library a series of 90 remarkable letters from Woodrow Wilson to his Princeton classmate and life-long friend, Robert Bridges, 1877-1923, two thirds of which, it is believed, have never before been available for research. Other additions to the Woodrow Wilson Collection include a group of manuscripts relating to Wilson, given by Dr. James H. Taylor, pastor emeritus of the Central Presbyterian Church of Washington, D.C., which Wilson attended when he was President of the United States; and photostats, from originals in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, of 20 letters from Wilson, 1880-1917, addressed for the most part to Charles W. Kent, a friend of his law school days.

Earlier material added to the holdings of the Library includes: a collection of 800 papers of the Morris and Popham families, 1667 to 1892, comprised of papers of several generations of Morrisises, beginning with the first Lewis Morris (1671-1746) and papers centered about Major William Popham (1752-1849) and members of his immediate family; a diary kept by Asher B. Hinds from 1895 to 1900, when he served as clerk at the Speaker's table in the United States House of Representatives; and a microfilm of Mr. Laurence G. Hoes's collection of some

350 papers of James Monroe, 1780-1830. With the addition of this microfilm, which may be used without restriction, it is believed that all important groups of the papers left by the fifth President are now available to scholars in public repositories, the great majority of them in the Library of Congress.

The Library of Congress has received from the chancellery of the Prince of Hohenzollern in Sigmaringen a set of the family statutes now in force for the princely house, the so-called Swabian line of the Hohenzollern family. The statute now in force is based on older ones of 1575, 1695, and 1707 and sets forth the rules about such subjects as family property, inheritance and succession, and status of the members of the family. The amendments of 1893 and 1920, it is believed, have never before been published. They reflect the changes caused by the ascendance to the Rumanian throne of Carl, the brother of the then-ruling Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern; by the succession rights of Ferdinand, Prince Leopold's second son; and by the Revolution of 1918 and the Weimar Constitution.

The National Historical Publications Commission announces the formal establishment of a project for the publication of the papers of John C. Calhoun by the University of South Carolina in co-operation with Clemson College and the Commission. Dr. Robert L. Meriwether, professor of history in the University of South Carolina and director of the South Caroliniana Library, has been named editor. Professor C. L. Epting of Clemson College is chairman of the publications committee, and Dr. J. H. Easterby of the Historical Commission of South Carolina is its secretary. Persons having information about Calhoun papers that are not readily available in well-known depositories, especially papers in private possession, are urged to communicate with Dr. Meriwether.

A portrait of Robert D. W. Connor, 1878-1950, the first Archivist of the United States, 1934-41, was unveiled in the National Archives Conference Room on October 10, 1952. Executed by Mrs. Arthur M. Nash of Washington, D.C., well-known portrait artist and long-time friend of the Connor family, the painting was unveiled before a gathering of relatives, friends, and colleagues of the late Archivist by Thomas Connor Murray, a grandnephew. A tribute to Dr. Connor was read by Waldo G. Leland, former director of the American Council of Learned Societies and sometime president of the Society of American Archivists.

The Modern Language Association is sponsoring an international census of the letters and other manuscripts of some two thousand significant American authors, the published results of which will be of interest to all students of American Studies. At present the committee is actively surveying the manuscript holdings of libraries in the South and Southwest. The work so far has been financed by the Humanities Research Fund of the California Institute of Technology and

by the Research Institute of the University of Texas. Arrangements have also been made to take a census of the holdings of the libraries of several hundred American private collectors, subsidized by a grant from the National Society of Autograph Collectors. Other surveys will follow, of libraries in the remaining American geographic regions and of private and public libraries abroad. The census is being undertaken by the M.L.A. American Literature group, under the direction of a Special Committee on Manuscript Holdings, of which Professor Joseph Jones of the English department of the University of Texas is chairman. Other committee members are Professor Henry Dan Piper of the California Institute of Technology, Dean Herman Spivey of the University of Kentucky, Professor Ernest Marchand of San Diego State College, and Professor Albert Robbins of Indiana University. The M.L.A. census, of necessity, is restricted almost exclusively to Americans of literary prominence. But it is hoped that the methods and co-operation now developed through the survey will assist other groups in the field of American Studies in undertaking similar projects. Members of the committee will gladly answer inquiries as to their project and methods to be used by similar committees that may be set up in other areas of American cultural history.

The *Review's* representative reports that some 350 members attended the eighteenth annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Knoxville on November 6-8, 1952. A varied program followed the custom of the association by which at each morning and afternoon period one session deals with some aspect of Southern history, while simultaneously the other session considers another field of history: medieval, military, Latin-American, British, or modern European. Although no central theme was specifically designated for the meeting, a recurring one concerned the historical problems and contemporary implications of minorities in the South. The standards of objectivity and the atmosphere of mutual respect inherent in both the formal papers and informal discussions by participants of diverse backgrounds were a tribute to the ideals of scholarship and the deepening of the democratic faith. The thoughtful and moving presidential address by C. Vann Woodward of the Johns Hopkins University on "The Irony of Southern History" was a fitting capstone. Officers elected for the coming year are President Kathryn Abbey Hanna of Winter Park, Florida, Vice-President Francis B. Simkins of Longwood College, and Secretary-Treasurer Bennett H. Wall of the University of Kentucky. The next annual meeting is scheduled for early November, 1953, at Jacksonville, Florida.

The seventh annual Northern New England Historians' Conference was held at Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, on October 11-12. About forty delegates attended from Bates, Bowdoin, Colby, Dartmouth, Marlboro, Middlebury, New Hampshire, Norwich, St. Anselm's, and Vermont. On Saturday eve-



ning the main address was by Professor Edwin O. Reischauer of Harvard, on "An Analysis of the Far Eastern Situation." Sunday morning Professor Reischauer led a discussion on "The Development of Far East Courses in American Colleges."

The seventeenth annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists will be held in September, 1953, at the Ford Motor Company Archives in Dearborn, Michigan.

On January 17 the Institute for European History was formally opened in the restored Domus Universitatis of the Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz. President Heuss of the West German Republic spoke for the Republic and Minister President Altmeier for the province. Greetings were given by representatives of the universities of Vienna, Paris, and Nancy. The directors of the Institute, Professors Göhring and Lortz, spoke in an illustrative way on the purposes of the Institute, namely, the co-operative study by professors and students of various nations, primarily France and Germany, of controversial topics that tend to perpetuate the divisions between nations. Dr. Göhring, known for his work on the French Revolution, dwelt on the importance of conciliation and common understanding on such crises as 1789, 1815, 1870, 1914, and 1918-19. Dr. Lortz drew his illustrations from his own specialty, the period of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. A beginning has been made on this rather large plan which it is hoped will be advanced by the appointment of younger scholars on fellowships from western Europe and America. Two members of the American Historical Association, Leonard Krieger of Yale and Franklin Ford of Harvard, were in attendance.

At the end of 1951 a committee for the history of parliamentarism and political parties in Germany was constituted by the Ministry of Interior of the Federal Republic at Bonn. At present its members are Professors Wolfgang Abendroth, Ludwig Bergstraesser, Max Braubach, Theodor Eschenburg, Fritz Fischer, Walter Hagemann, Alfred Herrmann (chairman), and Theodor Schieder. Besides encouraging long-range research projects and the edition of sources, the committee will publish a series, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien in Deutschland." Dr. Alfred Milatz is secretary of the committee; In der Sürst 1, Bonn, its address.

In 1950, a number of German scholars in the field of the history and culture of eastern Central Europe gathered in Marburg to establish the Johann Gottfried Herder Forschungsrat. The Forschungsrat, in turn, founded the Johann Gottfried Herder Institut, which maintains a considerable library including collections of newspapers, clippings, and other research material pertaining to the former German provinces and regions of eastern Central Europe. In addition, the Institut

publishes the quarterly *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, a *Handbuch* on *Die Deutschen Ostgebiete*, translations of Polish and Czech monographs, a series entitled *Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Ostmitteleuropas*, and the monthly *Wissenschaftlicher Dienst*, which reports on important political and economic changes and on scholarly activities in eastern Central Europe. Correspondence should be sent to the Johann Gottfried Herder Institut, 7 Behringweg, Marburg/Lahn, Germany.

Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania gave the Commonwealth Lectures at University College, London, from January 26 to February 19, 1953. His subject was "The Western Hemisphere Idea and Pan Americanism, 1800-1950."

In December, 1952, Fulmer Mood of the University of Texas, delivered a series of three lectures at the University of Kansas. His subject was "The Structures of American Historiography."

E. Merton Coulter, professor of history in the University of Georgia, delivered the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at the Louisiana State University December 2-3, 1952. His subject was "The Reconstruction of the South—a Retrospect."

The winner of the American Military Institute's first competition for manuscripts of book length on any phase of American military history was Jack Franklin Leach, for a study entitled "The Law, Theory, and Politics of National Conscription in the United States. Honorable mention went to John K. Mahon for a manuscript on "The Citizen Soldier in National Defense, 1789-1815." Manuscripts to be entered for the second competition must be received by June 30, 1954. Further details may be obtained from the Secretary of the Moncado Book Fund Committee of the Institute, Mr. Jacob B. Lishchiner, 712 Peabody St., N.W., Washington 10, D.C.

The American Numismatic Society offers a prize of \$100 to the undergraduate or graduate student in an accredited college or university in the United States or Canada who submits the most satisfactory paper based in large part on evidence from coins. Papers must be received before July 1, 1953. Further information may be obtained from the Secretary of the Society, Broadway between 155 and 156 Streets, New York 32.

Wildon Lloyd of Washington, D.C., author of *The European War Debts* (New York, 1934), has deposited with the Brookings Institution a collection of materials with a project-plan originally intended for the expansion of his book of

1934 on the American war loans to the Allies. His investigation and research were interrupted in 1938 as the official files in Washington were not then open for public investigation. The materials for this project will be made available to any bona fide writer properly financed and capable of completing the work as closely as possible to the original plans.

## Personal

### APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Ray Allen Billington of Northwestern University will serve as Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University during the academic year 1953-54.

C. Mildred Thompson, professor emeritus of the University of Georgia, has been appointed dean of instruction at the Collège de l'Europe Libre, Strasbourg, France.

Page Smith has left the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, to join the department of history of the University of California, Los Angeles, as assistant professor.

Louis L. Snyder has been promoted to professor of history in the City College of New York.

At Clark University Marc Raeff has been granted a leave of absence for the current academic year to participate in a research project at the Far Eastern Institute, University of Washington. Dwight E. Lee, chairman of the department of history and international relations, is on sabbatical leave during the second semester to do research on the backgrounds of World War I. Samuel M. Osgood has been appointed instructor in the department for the current year.

At Duke University William B. Hamilton has been promoted to professor of history. Alexander DeConde, formerly of Whittier College, and Robert F. Durden have joined the staff of the department of history.

E. Merton Coulter, chairman of the department of history in the University of Georgia, has gone to the University of Jerusalem on a State Department appointment for the first six months of 1953. Horace Montgomery is serving as acting chairman of the department. Robert S. Cotterill, professor emeritus of the State University of Florida, is visiting professor at the University of Georgia during the winter and spring terms.

Paul H. Giddens, formerly chairman of the department of history and political

science at Allegheny College, has been elected president of Hamline University, St. Paul, Minnesota. He assumed his new duties on March 1.

Teaching in the summer session of Harvard University this year will be Denis Brogan of Cambridge University, Frank Freidel of the University of Illinois, Hajo Holborn of Yale University, and Sigmund Neumann of Wesleyan University.

In the department of history and government of the University of Maine the following promotions went into effect July 1, 1952: Robert M. York to professor of history, William H. Jeffrey and David W. Trafford to associate professors of history, and John J. Nolde to assistant professor of history and government. Professor York has been serving as acting head of the department during the current year while E. F. Dow is on leave of absence.

Alfred D. Low, associate professor of history and political science in Marietta College, is on leave during the second semester of the current academic year to serve as visiting lecturer in political science at New York State Teachers College, Albany.

The department of history in the University of North Carolina reports that Mitchell B. Garrett, professor of history since 1927, retired in June, 1952, and is now living in Canton, New York. Frank W. Klingberg, James E. King, and C. O. Cathey have been promoted to associate professors. George V. Taylor has been appointed assistant professor.

Luitpold Wallach had been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of Oregon.

Richard L. Clark is on leave of absence during the current academic year from George Pepperdine College, Los Angeles. Albert Clodius was appointed assistant professor of history for the year.

Willis Rudy has gone to State Teachers College, Worcester, Massachusetts, as professor of history and economics. He succeeds Albert Farnsworth, who has retired.

Jessie M. Fraser, chairman of the department of history and of the division of social studies in Sweet Briar College, has been promoted to a full professorship in history.

Alan P. Stuckey has gone to the University of Tampa as associate professor of history and political science.

John Randolph Hubbard, associate professor of history in Tulane University, has been named dean of the university's Sophie Newcomb Memorial College.

In the department of history and government of Wells College Isabel M. Calder has been named research professor in American history, Betty Lorraine Fladeland has been appointed assistant professor of history, and Paul Walden Bamford has been serving as assistant professor during the current year in place of Helen Nutting, who was awarded an American Association of University Women fellowship for research in London.

Albert Parker of the University of Oklahoma has been appointed assistant professor of history at the University of Wichita.

Malcolm C. McMillan, associate professor of history at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, has been named research professor of history at that institution. A. W. Reynolds, not Professor McMillan as incorrectly stated in the January issue of the *Review*, is head of the department of history and government at Alabama Polytechnic.

#### RECENT DEATHS

Herbert Eugene Bolton, Sather professor of history emeritus in the University of California, died in Berkeley, January 30. Professor Bolton was in his eighty-third year and had been active up to his eighty-second birthday. In a long academic career as a professor of history in the University of Texas (1901-1909), Stanford University (1909-14), and the University of California (1914-40), he had made his name synonymous with teaching, research, and publication in the field of the Spanish period in the Southwest and on the Pacific Coast. His conception and interpretation of American history included the Western Hemisphere and was set forth in his address at Toronto as president of the American Historical Association (*AHR*, XXXVIII [April, 1933], 448-74). As a lecturer to introductory courses he attracted thousands of undergraduates and from his seminars sent forth more doctors of philosophy than any other American professor of history. He had served the department at Berkeley for many years as chairman and from 1916 to 1940 he was director of the Bancroft Library. In his own studies he supplemented its riches with an intimate knowledge of the Mexican archives and of the papers in the monastic establishments in California. He was indefatigable in his pursuit of every clue to the life and labors of those who founded a civilization in the Spanish west. As an explorer he took to the field and by the aid of their records he followed their trails. With increasing literary skill he brought forgotten names alive and peopled a new historical Valhalla with black-robed heroes whose sufferings and sacrifices and dauntless courage had created a civilization that had left its stamp on the West and Southwest of today. His single-mindedness and devotion to his life work were exemplary and

disturbing. His many volumes, monographs, and papers began with a mission for the Carnegie Institution under Dr. Jameson, resulting in his *Guide to Materials for United States History in the Archives of Mexico* (1913) and reached perhaps their finest expression in the *Rim of Christendom* (1936). Many honors came to him in honorary degrees and in decorations by the governments of Spain and Italy. His first training in history was under Frederick Jackson Turner at the University of Wisconsin where he graduated in 1895. He may be best remembered as a pupil who sought to give national significance to a farther frontier.

John Montgomery Gambrill, professor emeritus of history in Teachers College, Columbia University, died in Baltimore January 13, 1953. Professor Gambrill had been a visiting professor at both Smith College and the Johns Hopkins University. Since his retirement he had held emergency war service appointments in several institutions. His concern in his long career was chiefly with the training of teachers in history and the social studies and in extension work. He was editor at one time of the *Atlantic Educational Journal*, of the secondary school department of the *History Teachers Magazine*, and of the book review department of *History Outlook*. He will be remembered by older teachers of history for his collaboration with Professor C. M. Andrews and Miss Lida Tall in a helpful *Bibliography of History for Schools and Colleges*. He had been a member of this Association since 1905.

Arturo Castiglioni, who retired in 1947 as professor of the history of medicine in Yale University, died in Milan, Italy, January 21. Before coming to Yale in 1940 he had similar appointments in the universities of Siena, Padua, and Perugia. In the course of his Italian career he had accumulated a library of 20,000 volumes which was confiscated by the Nazis and never returned. His best-known work, *The History of Medicine*, was translated into six languages. He was seventy-eight at the time of his death.

C. Herbert Laub, chairman of the department of history in the University of Tampa, died November 19, 1952, at the age of fifty-four. Dr. Laub took his A.B. at De Pauw University in 1921, his M.A. and Ph.D. both at the University of Wisconsin, finishing in 1929. Since 1933 he had taught at the University of Tampa. He was a member of the American Historical Association.

Dr. Charles Anderson, who was long connected with the Army Medical Service, died December 11, 1952, at the age of eighty-nine. He was the author of the *Life and Letters of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa* and a volume on *Old Panama*. He was a member of numerous organizations including the American Historical Association.



In the death on January 8 of Charles Edward Merriam, both his chosen field, political science, and history, which was the background of many of his studies, lost a distinguished scholar. Professor Merriam's earliest publications were on the history of American political theory. He served on the Commission on the Social Studies of this Association and wrote one of the volumes. He also shared with Professor Wesley Mitchell the planning of two volumes entitled *Social Trends*. He gave much time to public service both on the local and national level. He served on the faculty of the University of Chicago from 1900 to 1940 and at the time of his retirement was Morton D. Hull Distinguished Service Professor of Political Science.

The death of Major General (ret.) Bernhard Schwertfeger at Neckargemünd near Heidelberg, in January, 1953, marked the end of an era. Born in 1868, Schwertfeger belonged to the group of retired German officers who, with patriotic fervor and often with more zeal than convincing historical method, devoted their lives after the First World War to the task of disproving the so-called "war guilt lie." While Alfred von Wegerer took a narrowing approach to the *Kriegsschuldfrage* and became the German expert on every hour of the crisis of July, 1914, Schwertfeger, in his numerous writings, embraced the period between 1870 and 1940. His *Wegweiser* (Guide) to the series "Die Grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914" (entitled *Die Diplomatischen Akten des Auswärtigen Amts*, 1923-27, 8 vols.), his *Zeitkalender der Diplomatischen Akten des Auswärtigen Amts 1871-1914* (1928), and his edition of the Belgian documents captured by the Germans in 1914 (*Ämtliche Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der europäischen Politik 1885-1914: Die belgischen Dokumente zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges*, 1925, 5 vols.) have facilitated and promoted research on the causes of the First World War. Schwertfeger established his reputation as a historian by his book *Das Weltkriegsende: Gedanken über die deutsche Kriegführung 1918* (1937). His writings, which include a study on the Prussian War Academy (*Die grossen Erzieher des deutschen Heeres*, 1936) and a collection of lectures and articles (*Kriegsgeschichte und Wehrpolitik*, 1938) on the whole stand out as solid German contributions to modern diplomatic and military history.

As this issue goes through press, word has come of the death on February 20 of Professor J. G. Randall of the University of Illinois. Professor Randall was president of the American Historical Association in 1952. A more adequate notice will appear in the July issue.

## Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Reviewers must have their own views as to the quality of a book, but not as to its actual subject. On that they must take the word of the author and the evidence

of the book. An academic reviewer especially, writing for a learned journal, should not misinterpret a book to the point of finding fault with it for not being what it was never meant to be. In reviewing *Marx against the Peasant*, in your issue for January, Mr. Robert Lee Wolff says that some of my economic "chief theses" are "shaken" by the evidence and argument of another book which he reviewed at the same time. They might have been, if there had been any such "theses" in the book, but there are none. A book which describes the friction of two social ideas, the Marxian-Socialist and the Populist-Peasantist, over a century or more was hardly meant to provide "theses" for the solution of practical present-day issues; there is in the whole book not a single statistical table or straight economic argument; and the foreword actually says in so many words that "this essay is not meant in any way to be a technical study, let alone to offer conclusions on technical matters. Economic and other practical aspects are simply mentioned for whatever part they played in the political antagonism between workers and peasants. . . ." The agrarian experts, several of whom have reviewed the book, have apparently had no difficulty in seeing and accepting this; as for instance the latest reviewer in the current issue of *Land Economics* who in his very first sentence states plainly, "this is an important book in the history of ideas." That is all the book claimed to be—the history of a conflict between two socio-political currents over the past hundred years. It puts forward only one chief "thesis"—that the rise of the dogmatic Marxian Socialism was responsible for the disastrous breach between the urban and rural sections of the working masses during the vital period of democratic advance; with the subsidiary "thesis" that the great Socialist movement itself was split and hamstrung by that dogmatism. Neither of these "theses" is considered or disputed by the other book, which deals with the recent social history of only one country, Rumania.

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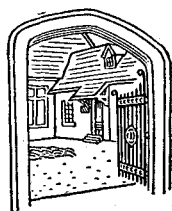
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